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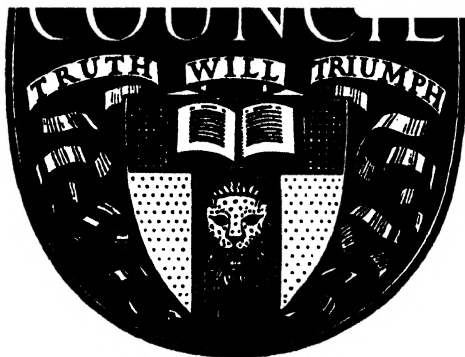
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recover all his revenues, but was allowed to keep York and a pension out of Winchester (see below, 124/34ff.)

109/25 **yet wyll I . . . this:** i.e. Yet will I divide this among you.

110/12–13 **thes ij dayes:** Presumably 1–3 November. Cromwell left Wolsey on 1 November. By the 3rd he had obtained his seat in the Parliament that met on that day.

110/14 **Sir Rafe Sadler:** Cromwell refers to Ralph Sadler (1507–87) as ‘my servant’ in the will which he made on 12 July 1529. Sadler’s rise to power began in Cromwell’s household; he was made a gentleman of the privy chamber shortly after Henry’s minister became Earl of Essex (9 July 1536) and was knighted in 1540.

110/19 Supply ‘I’ (Cavendish) before ‘perceyved’.

110/22 **sir Iohn Russhell:** The *Letters and Papers* (IV, 6024) preserve a letter from Wolsey to Henry thanking the king for the comfort sent him by Sir John Russell. The letter is undated, but is placed under 24 October 1529 by the editors. Pollard (p. 265, n.) suggests that if Cavendish is right Wolsey’s acknowledgement should be dated 2 November. For Russell see above (37/25–6 and n.).

112/8–10 **And shortly . . . stuff:** If Wolsey arrived at Esher about 25 October, as seems most likely (above, 100/20 and n.), then

the letter to Russell would contradict his earlier state-

Cavendish: Life of Cardinal Wolsey

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THE LIFE AND DEATH
of
CARDINAL WOLSEY

by
GEORGE CAVENDISH

EDITED BY
RICHARD S. SYLVESTER

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PREFACE

I should like to take this opportunity to thank all those who, in their various ways, have helped to make this edition possible. Among many others, I am particularly grateful to the Rev. M. B. McNamee, S.J., of St. Louis University, who, years ago, first aroused my interest in the *Life of Wolsey*; to Professor F. P. Wilson of Oxford University for his whole-hearted encouragement and many helpful suggestions; and to Mr. N. R. Ker, University Reader in Palaeography at Oxford, who first taught me to read Renaissance script and who supervised my transcription of Egerton 2402. I am greatly indebted to the many librarians who have helped me in my search for manuscripts. I wish to thank particularly Dr. R. W. Hunt of the Bodleian Library, the authorities of the British Museum, Mr. H. W. Parke of Trinity College, Dublin, Mr. P. I. King of Lampport Hall, Northampton, Miss Brunskill of the York Minster Library, the Duke of Northumberland (for permission to examine a microfilm copy of his MS. of the *Life*), Dr. Giles E. Dawson of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the staffs of the Yale and Harvard Libraries for their constant co-operation. Miss Nelly McNeill O'Farrell and Miss Mabel Mills have given me invaluable aid in my work with the London records and Professors Charles T. Prouty and Helge Kökeritz of Yale have supplied me with many helpful hints. I am most deeply grateful to Professor Davis Harding of Yale for his kindly, albeit forceful and searching, criticism and to Dr. C. T. Onions, who helped me to put the glossary in its final form. Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the Honorary Secretary of the Early English Text Society, Mr. R. W. Burchfield, for his patient guidance in all the various stages of editorial work that have preceded this edition, to the members of the Council of the Society for their helpful criticisms, and to my wife for her constant and careful proof-reading of the final manuscript.

R. S. S.

Yale University,
1 June 1958

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INTRODUCTION

The Manuscript

The present edition of George Cavendish's *Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*¹ is based upon the autograph manuscript, British Museum MS. Egerton 2402. The manuscript is a small paper folio of the sixteenth century, bound in red boards. The pages measure 7 × 11 inches. There are 154 leaves in the manuscript, the *Life* occupying ff. 4 to 93, with f. 4^v blank.² The text runs consecutively from f. 5 to f. 93; f. 93^v is blank. Two blank leaves then intervene before Cavendish's poems, which occupy ff. 94 to 151.³ Ff. 151^v and 152 are blank; on ff. 152^v and 153 a nineteenth-century hand has entered a genealogy of the Cavendish family. F. 153^v is blank; f. 154, the last in the manuscript, contains a list, in a seventeenth-century hand, of eight items that appear to relate to the settlement of an estate in the manor of Exton.⁴

The manuscript is written throughout in a relatively tight and somewhat cramped hand of the early or middle sixteenth century; the ink is a faded, but generally quite legible, light brown. A page of text normally contains from 27 to 32 lines. The left-hand margins average about 1½ inches, but the lines of text often extend to the extreme right-hand edge of the page.⁵

¹ Referred to hereafter as 'the *Life*'.

² The first page of the text, which apparently contained about thirty lines of script, has been lost in the autograph manuscript. These lines are reproduced in this edition from Bodleian MS. Douce 363, one of the earliest, as far as it can be ascertained, of the extant secondary manuscripts. See Appendix E on the secondary manuscripts.

³ The two blank leaves between the *Life* and the poems are not numbered. A sixteenth-century hand (not Cavendish's) originally numbered the *Life* and the poems separately; these numbers have been cancelled and a new hand has numbered the leaves in pencil throughout the manuscript. This later pagination is adopted in the references to the manuscript in this edition.

⁴ This list may possibly contain information regarding the owners of the manuscript in the seventeenth century, but I have not been able to discover anything about its compiler.

⁵ In some cases the right-hand edge of the page has been frayed away, thus occasioning the loss of a few final letters. These have been supplied in the present edition and their occurrence noted. For a full account of the editorial principles adopted see 'The Text', p. xxxviii ff.

There are no catchwords and no marginal glosses. The author has divided his narrative into sections by spacing large blocks of text a few lines below a preceding section and by heavily shading the first few words of each such section.

There can be little doubt that Egerton 2402 is an autograph. On two pages immediately preceding the text of the *Life* (ff. 2, 2^v) and at the end of both the *Life* and of his poems Cavendish has left ample testimony to his authorship. On f. 2,¹ in the same hand as that in which the text is written, we find the word '<I>hesu' at the extreme upper edge of the page and beneath it the word 'Cardynalles', followed by the lines:

vincit qui patitur// q^d G.C.
Maxima vindicta paciencia.

Under this is written 'Cauendyssh de Cauendyssh in Comitatu Suffolk gent' and a little further down the page, 'I begane this booke the 4 day of november.' On f. 2^v the initials 'G.C.' are written vertically along the left-hand side of the page and beneath them is the motto of the Cavendish family, 'Concordia res crescunt Cavendo tutus.' F. 3 is blank and on f. 3^v we find the name C. Rossington, followed by an addition apparently in the hand of Mr. Lloyd, who possessed the manuscript in the early nineteenth century, 'i.e. Clement Rossington of Dronfield Gent. whose son Mr James Rossington gave me this MS.' At the bottom of the first page of the text (f. 4) the author has written 'ffinis. q^d G.C.' and these words also occur at the end of several of Cavendish's individual poems later in the manuscript. On f. 149, after the 'Lenvoy de Auctour' but before the final epitaph on Queen Mary, occur the lines:

finie Et compile le xxiiij^{or} Iour de
Iunij a^{ls} regnorum Philippi Regis & Regine
Marie/ iij^{to} & v^{to}
per le auctor G.C./

¹ f. 1 contains an engraving of a Holbein Henry VIII, pasted in by a later hand. This picture is the same as that reproduced by Singer in his edition of the *Life* (Chiswick, 1825, 2 vols.), II, 91.

Immediately beneath them is written

Nouus Rex/ nova lex/ Noua sola Regina
 probz. peur Ruina(?).¹

The nature of the text itself bears out the evidence of the above passages. Interlineations and cancellations are frequent and occasionally involve changes in the meaning of the text. More often, however, these corrections result from the fact that the author either wrote the same word twice by mistake² or overestimated the width of his page. He did not hyphenate words but rather, if he found after beginning a word that he did not have room to complete it at the end of the line, he cancelled the syllables already written (or sometimes the whole word, if it was too cramped to be easily legible) and began the word again on the next line. After a careful study of these cancellations and interlineations, all of which are noted in the present edition, I am inclined to think that Egerton 2402 does not represent Cavendish's first draft of his work or his 'foul papers', but is rather his fair copy.³ In any event there can be little doubt that the author subjected his book to frequent revision and that he proof-read it with extreme care. As can be seen from the text, the *Life* has required a very small amount of emendation.

Previous Editions

Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* remained in manuscript from the time of its composition (1554–8) until 1641, when a garbled edition appeared from the press of William Sheares.⁴ Meanwhile the work had been widely circulated in manuscript form and large portions of it had been incorporated into the chronicles of Stowe, Holinshed, and Speed.⁵ The manuscripts from which the chroniclers worked, though not preserving the

¹ The reading is uncertain.

² This is the sort of mistake that a writer who is copying one manuscript from another often makes. It is usually less frequent in an original first draft.

³ This is certainly not true of the poems, where several stanzas are left incomplete.

⁴ There was also a pirated edition in the same year. For an account of the editions prior to Singer's, see Appendix D.

⁵ There are at least thirty-one extant secondary manuscripts. These are described in Appendix E. The uses to which Cavendish's *Life* was put by later writers are discussed in Appendix D.

full text of Egerton 2402, nevertheless contained a great deal more of the *Life* than did the 1641 edition. The autograph manuscript itself was not discovered until the early nineteenth century when S. W. Singer made what has been to this day the only attempt to produce a scholarly edition.¹

Singer, as he tells us in his preface, had at first decided to edit the *Life* by collating as many of the secondary manuscripts as he could discover. 'Upon naming the design to my friend Mr. Douce, he mentioned to me a very curious copy in the possession of Mr. Lloyd. . . . Upon application to that gentleman, he . . . immediately placed the manuscript in my hands.'² Convinced that Mr. Lloyd's manuscript was the autograph, Singer tried to trace back its history and was able, in his second edition, to offer the following note:

Mr. Hunter informs me that Clement Rossington the elder, who must be here alluded to, died in 1737. He acquired the manor of Dronfield by his marriage with Sarah Burton, sister and co-heir of Ralph Burton, of Dronfield, Esq. who died in 1714. The father of Ralph and Sarah Burton was Francis Burton, also of Dronfield, who was aged twenty-five at the visitation of Derbyshire, 1662, and the mother, Helen, daughter and heir of Cassibelan Burton, son of William Burton the distinguished antiquary and historian of Leicestershire. There is good reason to believe that the Rossingtons were not likely to *purchase* a book of this curiosity, and it is therefore more than probable that it once formed part of the library of William Burton, other books which had been his having descended to them.³

I have been unable to add anything to Hunter's theory of the early history of the manuscript.

A good deal of information regarding Singer's edition can be obtained from the loose sheets of paper which Douce inserted into his own copy of the 1825 edition, now in the Bodleian

¹ *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey and Metrical Visions* (Cavendish's poems), ed. S. W. Singer, 2 vols., Chiswick, 1825, and 1 vol. (without the poems), London, 1827. Most of the subsequent editions have been based on Singer's text. The two other independent editions, those of William Morris (transcribed by F. S. Ellis) for the Kelmescott Press (Hammersmith, 1893) and that of the Alcuin Press (Chipping Campden, 1930) are 'art' editions. Though both claim to be 'faithfully transcribed' they are in fact, particularly Morris's, shot through with errors. Neither provides any scholarly apparatus.

² 1825 ed., I, xv-xvi.

³ 1827 ed., p. xv, n. 3. Not in the 1825 ed.

Library. We there learn that Singer had received Mr. Lloyd's manuscript by 14 May 1821. Douce also records that the autograph was later sold 'at Mr. Lloyd's sale March 1833 for £81. 14 to Thorpe, perhaps for Heber.' The Rev. Thomas Corser either acquired the manuscript through that sale or came to possess it later, for it was from his library that the British Museum purchased it at Manchester on 13 December 1876.¹

In editing the autograph manuscript, Singer decided, with somewhat unfortunate consequences, to 'take the spelling and pointing into his own hands.'² The present edition has been undertaken in an effort to remove from the text many of the errors that crept into it either from Singer's misreadings of the manuscript or from the carelessness of subsequent revisers.³ The amount of corruption that has overtaken the *Life* since the discovery of the autograph manuscript is, of course, scarcely comparable to that which it underwent in the hands of the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century scribes; but it has been sufficiently pervasive to warrant an edition such as the present one, which lays claim to have firmly established the text upon a permanent, scholarly basis.

George Cavendish

It was not until the present century that a good deal of the mystery and legend which had previously surrounded the early

¹ According to a pencilled note on the fly leaf of the manuscript. See also the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1876-81), pp. 282-3.

² 1825 ed., I, xxi. He attempted to keep the original spelling and punctuation in the poems, which, however, he did not include in his one-volume edition of 1827. Many of Singer's pencilled glosses are still visible in the autograph manuscript.

³ The following list of some of Singer's errors will furnish concrete evidence of the degree to which he found Cavendish's manuscript 'difficult' or even 'illegible'. I give Singer's reading, followed by the page number of his first edition, volume I, and then my own reading: things, 3, trouthe; farther, 4, fyrst; there at school with him, 5, at scole there wth hym; therby to have appeased, 7, therby to appese; it chanced my said Lord, 7, Yt chaunced the lord; this schoolmaster, 8, The Scole Mr; also to be destitute, 8, to be also destitute; in the present sight, 9, in present sight; was in his head, 9, was pact in his hede; the king one day counselling, 10, the kyng consultancyng; of weight and gravity, 10, of waytie gravitie; enterprise and journey, 10, enterpriced Iourney; by ten of the clock, 12, by fore x^{en} of cloke; persons, 26, prisoners; precinct, 28, provynce; opposed, 217, oppressed; forced, 227, fferced (i.e. 'Farced').

history of the Cavendish family began to be removed through the patient efforts of genealogists. Since the descendants of Sir William Cavendish (George's brother) rose to the peerage within two generations of his death,¹ it behoved the pedigree-makers of the seventeenth century to provide them with a Norman ancestry which, passing lightly over the family's Tudor origin, would place its foundations deep in the ancient history of the realm. Thus we are informed that the Cavendishes go back to a certain Ralf de Gernon (d. 1248) and stem directly from the famous Chief Justice of Richard II's reign, Sir John Cavendish.² Incidentally, we are told the legendary story of how John Cavendish, the son of the Chief Justice, slew Wat 'Tyler at Smithfield and how the enraged peasants retaliated by later beheading Sir John himself at Bury St. Edmunds.³

The facts of the matter, as they affect the ancestry of Wolsey's biographer and his brother, are by no means so extraordinary. The Cavendish family, so far as it can be ascertained, goes back to a certain 'William atte Watre' of Ewell, Surrey, whose son, 'Thomas (d. 1348) changed his name to 'Thomas de Cavendish' after that of the London mercer, Walter de Cavendish, whom he served as apprentice from 1304 to 1312.⁴ The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Cavendishes were all mercers and drapers of the city, one of them (Stephen, d. 1372) serving as Lord Mayor. After the death of Stephen's children and those of his brother John (d. 1349), the pedigree shows a gap until we reach William Cavendish, mercer (d. 1433) and his brother Robert, Serjeant-at-law (d. 1439). Not enough data have survived to prove that William and Robert were closely related to the

¹ The Devonshire family obtained its barony in 1605 and its earldom in 1676. The two ducal families of Devonshire and Newcastle both trace their descent from William Cavendish. For a full account, see the Rev. Joseph Hunter's pamphlet, 'Who wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*?' (1814), reprinted in Singer's edition of the *Life*, II, xiii-lxxii.

² This pedigree is given in full detail by Collins. See his *Peerage* (1768), I, 279-83. The best modern account of the family's early history is in J. Horace Round's *Family Origins and other Studies* (London, 1930), pp. 22-32, which forms the basis for the present study.

³ Wat Tyler was killed on 15 June, 1381 by a certain Ralf Standish; Sir John Cavendish had actually been executed the day before. See Round, pp. 28-30.

⁴ Round, p. 26.

famous Chief Justice; it seems probable that there was some connection between them, for Sir John's daughter-in-law (Alice Neel, d. 1419) made the brothers her executors, but beyond this suggestion we are not able to go.¹

It was this William Cavendish, mercer of London, who was the great grandfather of the author of the *Life of Wolsey*. At his death in 1433 he left one son, Thomas, who died in 1477.² Thomas had married Catherine Scudamore, who died on 15 September 1499 and was buried at St. Botolph's, Aldersgate.³ Catherine and Thomas had one son, also named Thomas, the father of our author and his brother William.⁴ We know a good deal more about this Thomas Cavendish (the younger) than we do of his immediate ancestors, for it was apparently he that first brought the family name into governmental work. Some time before 1488⁵ he had married Alice, the daughter and

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

² Thomas Ruggles, 'Notices of the Manor of Cavendish, in Suffolk, and of the Cavendish family while possessed of that Manor,' *Archaeologia*, xi (1794), 50–62. Ruggles's article is accurate for the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century history of the family but its statements about the earlier Cavendishes need considerable correction.

³ See the inscription on her tomb in John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631), Sig. Nnn5. Weever also records the epitaphs of George's mother Alice (12 November 1515) and Margaret, the second wife of his brother William (16 June 1540) from the same church. His inscriptions agree with the three 'hic jacet's' that a nineteenth-century hand has copied into the back of the autograph manuscript. Weever says that he got the epitaphs from 'Robert Treswell, Esquire, Somerset Herald, lately deceased' who had copied them 'about some thirtie seven yeares since' [i.e. not after 1594]. Few or none of them, he adds, 'are to be found at this present time.' Since the reading of the epitaphs in Egerton 2402 agrees quite closely with Weever's text, it seems impossible to determine whether or not these were copied from Weever or from some other source. The oldest monument now in St. Botolph's, which was rebuilt in 1741, dates only from 1563.

⁴ Ruggles, *op. cit.*, says that Thomas Cavendish, George's father, had four sons, one of whom was also named Thomas. I have found no reference to these other two sons, however; there was a sister, Mary Cavendish, who was alive in 1524.

⁵ According to the *IPM* taken at his death (R. O., E152/607/13), which refers to him and his wife as married in that year. Reference is also made to Thomas Cavendish's acquisition of the manor of Overhall from 'John Bourghier Lord Ferrers of Groby, William Chapman, and John Clerke of Cavendish, Suffolk' by a deed of 4 July, 1488. This would seem to be, contrary to Ruggles's statement that the manor belonged to the Cavendishes in the early fifteenth century, the first record of their possession of it. Francis Bickley in his *The Cavendish Family* (London, 1911), p. 7, says that George Cavendish had to defend his inheritance against the claims of Ferrers and Clerke in 1525, but I have found no reference to such claims having been made.

heir of John Smyth the younger of Padbrook Hall, Suffolk, and by this time he was already associated with the Exchequer. He became Clerk of the Pipe under Henry VII and held that office until his death on 13 April 1524. It is more than likely that the elder Cavendish first came into contact with Wolsey while serving in the Exchequer and it may well be that it was through his father's offices that young George Cavendish was placed in the cardinal's service. We can gather a good deal about Thomas's duties from the following description of the work that his position entailed. A 'Clerk of the Pipe' was

. . . an officer in the kings exchequer, who hauing all accounts and debts due to the king delivered and drawne downe out of the Remembrancers offices, chargeth them downe into the great rolle: who also writeth summons to the Shyreuee, to levie the said debts vpon the goods and catels of deptors: and if they haue no goods, then doth he drawe them downe to the L. treasurers remembrancer, to write extreats [i.e. 'estreats', copies of original fines or amercements (*O.E.D.*)] against their lands. The awncient renew of the Crowne, remaineth in charge afore him, & he seeth the same answered by the fermers & shyreeues to the King. He maketh a charge to al Shyreuees of their summons of the pipe and greenwax, and seeth it answered vpon their accompts. He hath the drawing and ingrossing of all leases of the Kings land.¹

Thomas Cavendish retained the royal favour under both Henry VII and Henry VIII.² He is twice mentioned as a recipient of emoluments from the king,³ and he gradually

¹ John Cowell, *The Interpreter: or Booke Containing the Signification of Words* (Cambridge, 1607), Sigs. P3-P3v. The 'Clerks of the Pipe' were so called because 'their Records that are registered in their smallest Rolles, are altogether like Organe Pipes.' (Weever, op. cit., Sig. Nnn5v.)

² He and his wife are mentioned in Henry VIII's general pardon of 1509 (LP, 2nd ed., revised by R. H. Brodie, I, Part 1, 438). The description of the Cavendishes is as follows: "Thomas Cavendissh, Caundissh or Candissh, of London, and Cavendissh, Suff., g[entleman] of the Exchequer of Henry VII, s[on] and h[eir] of Thomas C., esq; and Alice his wife, d[aughter] and h[eir] of John Smyth, jun., late of Cavendissh, Suff. esq., and kinswoman and h[eir] of John Smyth, senior, of Cavendish, 13 July [1509]."

³ See the *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, where he is said to have received £10 'during pleasure' from Henry VII (II, 2736, p. 877) and is mentioned in a royal grant of 8 February, 1520 (III, 644). In May of that year his name appears in an account of 'stuff' used by the Queen (III, 852).

acquired a considerable amount of property in his native Suffolk. A subsidy list of April? 1522 for the hundred of Babergh, Suffolk, shows that he owned lands there worth £25 by the year.¹ In 1524 a similar list for Samford describes him as having £6 6s. 8d. in goods in that hundred.² His will³ and the Inquisition Post Mortem taken after his death testify to the relatively comfortable circumstances that he and his family enjoyed.

George Cavendish, the author of the *Life of Wolsey*, was probably the eldest and certainly the eldest surviving son of Thomas and Alice. We cannot precisely determine the date of his birth, but it probably occurred in 1499.⁴ His early life and education must remain conjectural, but we know that he was at Cambridge in 1510, at about the age of eleven.⁵ He may have remained there for some years, but he left without taking a degree. In 1515, Alice Cavendish died⁶ and George's father then married a certain 'Agnes', whose maiden name has not survived in the records.

It could not have been more than a few years after his mother's death that George Cavendish himself married for the first time. Confirmation of this first marriage is based on very late evidence, but there seems to be little reason to question its authenticity. On 16 October 1834, Richard Almack of Melford, Suffolk, wrote to the *Gentleman's Magazine* describing a carving (apparently designed for a mantelpiece) that had been uncovered in excavations near the old site of Cavendish Overhall. The carving showed the Cavendish arms⁷ impaling

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, 'Ancaster MSS.' (1907), p. 495.

² 'Suffolk in 1524,' *Suffolk Green Books*, No. x (Woodbridge, 1910), p. 305. The subsidy was paid by 15 February 1524, two months before Thomas's death.

³ P.C.C. Bodfelde 23. It was made on 13 April 1524, the day of his death, and proved on 22 August. For the *IPM* see above, p. xv. n. 5.

⁴ His father's *IPM* shows him to have been twenty-four years old on 18 May 1524, thus fixing his birth between 18 May 1499 and 19 May 1500. Since Alice and Thomas were married by 1488, it is not unlikely that, before George's birth, they may have had other children who did not survive.

⁵ *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ed. C. H. and Thompson Cooper, 2 vols. (1858), I, 217.

⁶ See her epitaph in Weever, op. cit. It does not appear that Thomas had any further children by Agnes, who is mentioned as his widow in his will.

⁷ 'S. 3 stags' heads cabossed A.' *Athen. Cant.*, I, 218.

those of Spring. The writer continues his description as follows:

The arms impaled are those used by the Springs of Pakenham, in this county, who became Baronets, and were descended from Thomas Spring of Lavenham, who died 1486. Lavenham is about seven miles from Cavendish, and the Springs were very wealthy clothiers, and intermarried with the De Veres Earls of Oxford.¹

We do not know which daughter of the Spring family George married, nor can we be certain about the date of the marriage itself. It may have occurred after his entry into Wolsey's service.²

Whatever may have been the circumstances of this first marriage, it may safely be conjectured that George's first wife died not long afterwards. For it would appear that he married again in the early 1520s, this time with Margery Kemp, the daughter of William Kemp and Mary Colt of Spains Hall, Essex.³ Once again the date of his marriage eludes us and we are forced to fall back upon the internal evidence afforded by a somewhat ambiguous passage in the *Life of Wolsey* itself. After his arrest at Cawood in 1530 the cardinal said to his faithful servant:

ffor nowe/ q^d he/ that I se this gentilman/ (meanyng by me) howe faythefull/ howe diligent/ And howe paynfull, synce the begynneng of my troble/ he hathe serued me/ Abandonyng his owen contrie/ his wyfe & childerne/ his howsse & famelye/ his rest & quyotnes/ only to serue me/ etc.⁴

This passage was cautiously and correctly interpreted by Hunter as indicating that the author of the *Life* 'was married,

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, Vol. III, Jan. to June 1835, p. 613. A drawing of the carving is reproduced in Almack's article.

² That is, at some time prior to 1522. See below.

³ See Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of Essex* (London, 1768), 2 vols., II, 363. Mary Colt was the sister of Sir Thomas More's first wife Jane, perhaps the younger sister whom More favoured when 'of a certain pity' he married the elder. See the anecdote in Roper's *Life of More*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock (E.E.T.S., o.s. 197, 1935), p. 6. A genealogy of the Colts is given on p. 107.

⁴ Below, 159/1-5.

and had a family *probably* before he entered into the Cardinal's service, *certainly* while he was engaged in it'.¹ Since there is no record of any children by Cavendish's first marriage and since we know that he had at least a son (William) and a daughter (Jane)² in the second, it would appear safe to conclude that it was to his second wife that the cardinal alluded. And if Cavendish had, according to Wolsey, several 'children' while in the cardinal's service, we may probably conclude that his second marriage occurred at some time between 1520 and 1525.

We are on somewhat surer ground when we attempt to establish the date of Cavendish's entry into Wolsey's service. It is not unlikely, as we mentioned previously, that Thomas Cavendish, through his position in the Treasury, was able to procure a post for his son. In the *Life* itself Cavendish speaks as an eye-witness for the first time when he relates the Percy-Anne episode, which occurred in 1522.³ Thus we can be sure that he was in Wolsey's service by that date and he may have entered the household even earlier. Apart from the evidence which his book furnishes, we have only a reference in the *Chronicle of Calais* to a 'master Caundishc' who was in Wolsey's retinue during the trip to France in 1527.⁴ Our author may also be identified with the 'George Cavendish' who was 'escheator' for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire during 1528 and 1529, an office which George may have owed to the influence of the cardinal.⁵

The *Life of Wolsey* itself provides us with our best account

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. xli.

² See below, p. xxv.

³ See the historical note to 29/34.

⁴ See the note to 44/25-26. Cavendish's name does not appear in the list of the cardinal's servants that attended him on the 1521 embassy to Bruges, but a 'Richard Candyshe' is mentioned there. See MS. Harley 620, f. 41, reprinted in the *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 97-8. 'Richard' may possibly be an error for 'George', but it is more likely that he is to be identified with a 'Richard Cavendish' who is frequently mentioned in the *Letters and Papers* between 1530 and 1550 as one of Cromwell's agents and as a government official. It is not impossible that this Richard may have been one of the 'four sons' that, according to Ruggles, Thomas Cavendish is supposed to have had. A subsidy roll for Wolsey's household in 1525 (partially calendared in LP, IV, 6185) is also extant, but I have been unable to obtain any additional information about this list.

⁵ *Tenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, Appendix, ii, 6.

of the nature of Cavendish's duties while in the service of the great cardinal. There we find him entrusted with many tasks, all of them resulting more or less directly from his primary obligation of 'attending personally upon my lord'. He was primarily a messenger, as he shows himself to have been on the French embassy, one who prepared the way for the arrival of the cardinal himself. The servants of the household looked to him for instructions and, in 1527, it was to him that the preparations for the great banquet at Hampton Court were entrusted. The character of Bassiolo in Chapman's comedy *The Gentleman Usher* (1606, written about 1602) embodies a convenient summary of the duties that an office like Cavendish's entailed:

- Lasso: Say, now, Bassiolo, you on whom relies
 The general disposition of my house
 In this our preparation for the Duke,
 Are all our officers at large instructed
 For fit discharge of their peculiar places?
- Bas: At large, my lord, instructed.
- Las: Are all our chambers hung? Think you our house
 Ample capacious to lodge all the train?
- Bas: Ample capacious, I am passing glad.
 And now, then, to our mirth and musical show,
 Which, after supper, we intend t'endure,
 Welcome's chief dainties; for choice cates at home
 Ever attend on princes, mirth abroad.¹

We may note here the rather remarkable circumstance that no evidence, except for his marriage with Margery Kemp, has survived to connect George Cavendish with the circle of Sir 'Thomas More. Margery was More's niece by marriage and it seems likely that Cavendish would have known the Lord Chancellor with some intimacy. Moreover, he would have seen More frequently in his days as Wolsey's servant. Yet not only is there nothing in the records to testify to contacts between Cavendish and More's relatives, but the *Life*

¹ George Chapman, 'The Gentleman Usher', in *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman*, ed. T. M. Parrott, 2 vols. (London, 1910), II, 242.

of *Wolsey* itself makes no mention of Sir Thomas.¹ The only explanation for these omissions would seem to rest on the fact that More, Harpsfield, and Roper were all extremely hostile to Wolsey and his policies. More himself had delivered a scathing speech against the cardinal at the opening of Parliament in 1529² and, in the *Lives* of Harpsfield and Roper, Wolsey is accused of instigating the divorce and thus setting in motion the series of events that estranged England from Rome. Cavendish, who manifests a deep sympathy for Wolsey, would not have agreed with such an interpretation of the cardinal's character. And, in the middle 1550s, when not only the *Life of Wolsey* but also the biographies of Harpsfield and Roper were being written and the great edition of More's *Works* was going through the press, the former gentleman-usher would have stood almost alone in his balanced attitude towards his old master. Pro-Catholic though he was, Cavendish may have thought it better to omit all mention of More in the interests of friendship than to attack the opinions of a man to whom he was related.

George Cavendish left the service of the great for ever in 1530 when, after Wolsey's death, he refused the king's offer of a post in the royal household. He returned 'to his country' and probably remained at Cavendish Overhall, living the life of a country gentleman, until shortly before the end of his life. Thomas Cavendish had died in 1524 and George, who was appointed overseer of the will, inherited all his father's estate except for his 'lands in Kent',³ which were given to George's step-mother Agnes 'to sell for herself'. £40 was put aside for Mary's (George's sister) wedding portion, but we cannot tell if she was ever able to put it to use. Agnes was still alive on

¹ In one place at least Cavendish seems to have deliberately suppressed More's name. See 79/30-33, where he describes Fisher's martyrdom (22 June, 1535), which occurred only a few weeks before More's own on 6 July. We might have expected Cavendish to mention the fact that More succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor. But the only possible reference to More in the *Life* may occur in the speech of the anonymous council member (131/3-20 and n.).

² Reported by Hall in his *Chronicle* (1809 reprint), p. 764.

³ These 'lands' would probably have included the alienation of rent in Canterbury which Thomas Cavendish and others received in a grant of 22 October 1512. See LP (2nd ed., revised by R. H. Brodie), I, 1463g. (27).

24 December 1531, when she is mentioned in a grant as holding 'a tenement called the White Bere, in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalene and All Saints, in Westcheap and Bread Street, London'.¹

When George Cavendish retired to Suffolk, disillusioned by his experiences in the service of princes, his brother William (1505?–57) was just beginning a career which, through his own endeavours and the happy fortune of two wealthy marriages, was eventually to lead him to the office of Treasurer in the king's household. The story of William's rise in the royal favour is available elsewhere² and its stages can be verified in the numerous references to him in the *Letters and Papers* after 1530. He became an agent for Cromwell in the dissolution of the monasteries and somehow managed to escape unscathed when his master was executed in 1540. We may note that it was perhaps through the offices of his brother that William was first introduced to Cromwell;³ George Cavendish, as the *Life of Wolsey* shows us, knew the cardinal's secretary extremely well. The two brothers seem to have maintained some contact with each other, but George refused to profit from the sale of monastic lands, a process through which William, like so many men of the period, built himself a sizeable fortune.

Of George himself, in the years between his retirement from court and his death, we know relatively little. His name occurs occasionally in the *Letters and Papers* and some idea of his activities from 1530 until 1558 can be gleaned from the references there. Thus we find him listed as one of the commissioners for Bedfordshire who were making inquiries into the Tenths of Spiritualities in 1535;⁴ and on 24 August of the following year he sat on a commission that was conducting an investigation of certain 'articles' supposed to have been spoken against Cromwell by 'Dan Aswell', the Test Prior of St. Albans.⁵ These

¹ LP, V, 606.

² For example, in the *D.N.B.* or in Hunter's article. A portrait of Sir William at the age of forty-four (formerly in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire) is reproduced in A. S. Turberville's *History of Welbeck Abbey*, 2 vols. (London, 1938–9), I, 20.

³ Bickley's suggestion, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ LP, VIII, 1535; the grant is dated 30 January.

⁵ LP, XI, 354, ii.

commissions no doubt involved Cavendish in official duties that, as a country gentleman, he could not avoid when they were imposed upon him. His service on two of Cromwell's committees would seem to indicate that, even if he did not approve of the government's policies, he went along with the tide, at least temporarily. Neither commission involved any extended service and, after 1536, we no longer find him serving in any public capacity. In October 1541, he participated in a conveyance of lands that his brother William had arranged in preparation for his third marriage, this time with Elizabeth Paris, later Countess of Shrewsbury.¹

It was about 1543 that George's son William married a certain Anne Coxe, the daughter of John Coxe, and it was apparently as a part of the marriage settlement that George 'levied a fine' on his manors of Overhall and Netherhall.² The resultant agreement between John Coxe and Cavendish stipulated that the former should pay a sum of £400 (the marriage portion) in return for which Cavendish would put his manor in trust for his son William and Anne, William's wife. Such a method of alienating land was a common practice in the sixteenth century although, strictly speaking, a licence to alienate should first have been obtained. A pardon for alienation without licence was granted to Cavendish in 1545. The Coxes, in any event, were taking no chances on the manors slipping out of their family's hands after the marriage. That the properties were fairly rich

¹ Patent Roll, 33 Hen. VIII, p. 4, m. 26, calendared in LP, XVI, 1308 (34). They were married on 3 November 1541.

² The legal procedure involved here is explained as follows by the *O.E.D.*: A fine was 'the compromise of a fictitious or collusive suit for the possession of lands: formerly in use as a mode of conveyance in cases where the ordinary modes were not available or equally efficacious. . . . The person to whom the land was to be conveyed sued the holder for wrongfully keeping him out of possession; the defendant (hence called the cognizor [in this case, George Cavendish]) acknowledged the right of the plaintiff (or cognizee [here John Coxe and a certain John Seymour]); the compromise was entered on the records of the court; and the particulars of it were set forth in a document called the *foot of the fine*.' This device was often used by married women, who could alienate land only in this manner, and to bar entails. The 'cognizor' was said to have 'acknowledged' or 'levied' the fine. The relevant documents for Cavendish's fine are the Feet of Fines for Suffolk, Trinity Term, 35 Hen. VIII (R. O.) and a Patent Roll (P. 17, m. 21) of 37 Hen. VIII, the latter calendared in LP, XX, Part II, 910 (82), 6 November 1545.

ones at this date is shown by the text of the fine, which lists the following items:

the manors of Overhall and Netherhall and 3 messuages, 10 cottages, one watermill, 300 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 12 acres of woods, 100 acres of heath and furze, and 40s. rent in Overhall, Netherhall, and Cavendish.

Whether George continued to live at Glemsford after this settlement cannot be shown with certainty; but, if he can be identified with the 'George Cavendysse' who, in 1546, is described as holding tenure in some tenements near Dunstable, Bedfordshire, then it would seem that he had already given up his manor to his son.¹ Certainly the agreement of 1543 prepared the way for his final enfeoffment of his property to William in 1557. It may also be noted that, in 1546, George and an 'Anthony Stubbinge' are mentioned in a royal 'book of orders' as owing £32 10s. to the crown.² The debt, however, was not large and there seems to be no indication that Cavendish was in any sort of financial distress. We know from his book that life as a Catholic in these times was often bitter for him, but he seems to have enjoyed a modest competence during his later years.

Whatever may have been George's whereabouts between 1546 and 1557, it was on 1 October of the latter year that he made a permanent grant of Overhall and Netherhall to his son. The indenture notes that William had already paid a competent sum for the manors (presumably in addition to the £400 of 1543) and had released to George a yearly payment of twenty marks. As a final settlement, the contract stipulates that William shall pay George £40 per year for life, the payments to begin on 25 March, 1558, and to be paid 'at the Scite of the manor of Spaines Hall with in the parishe of Finchingfeld', Essex.³ George Cavendish acknowledged the indenture on 16 January 1558; one year later, on 15 January 1559 we find William named in Elizabeth's general pardon of that date and

¹ See Patent Roll, 37 Hen. VIII, P. 16, m. 25, calendared in LP, XX, Part II, 1068 (46).

² LP, XXI, Part I, 1280, fol. 43, 30 May 1546.

³ Close Roll, 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, Part I (R. O., C54/525).

described as 'of Glemysforde, co. Suffolk, *alias* of Cavendyshe, co. Suffolk'.¹

Spains Hall belonged to Robert Kemp, the son of William Kemp and the brother of George's wife, Margery. It was apparently at Spains Hall that George put the finishing touches to his *Life* of the cardinal and his *Poems*, completing his manuscript on 24 June 1558. He was certainly alive six months or so later when he wrote his epitaph on Queen Mary and added a postscript prophesying 'ruin' for England under its new government.

There seems to be no certain evidence regarding the date of George's death. Ruggles² conjectured that it occurred in 1561 or 1562, but the only evidence he could cite was the fact that William Cavendish was in possession of Overhall in 1562. Since George's son, as we have seen, already possessed the manor in 1559, the latter date is of little importance. But George was almost certainly dead by 28 June 1562 when his brother-in-law, Arthur Kemp, made his will.³ Arthur specifically mentions 'my sister Cauvendish' and 'Jane her daughter' but does not refer to George. William himself seems to have died between 1562 and 1565; his son (also named William) was a London mercer, back at the trade of his fifteenth-century forebears. In 1569 he sold the manor outright to William Downes of Sudbury, Suffolk; after that date, the family's connections with Cavendish Overhall cease altogether.⁴

Thus there is good reason to believe that the former gentleman-usher had ample opportunity to put into practice the maxim that he affixed to the opening pages of his *Life of Wolsey*—'Vincit qui patitur, Maxima vindicta paciencia'.⁵ The last thirty years of Cavendish's life must indeed have been years of patience, years in which he had ample time to meditate upon the vagaries of Fortune, 'wherof for my part', he tells us,

¹ Calendar of Patent Rolls Elizabeth, 1558–1560, p. 162.

² Ruggles, *op. cit.*; see also W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk*, 7 vols. (London, 1905–11), I, 62.

³ P.C.C. Streat 25, proved 13 October 1562. George Cavendish himself appears to have died intestate. I have found no record of his making a will; nor, apparently, was there an inquisition held at his death.

⁴ For these later transactions, see Ruggles, p. 59.

⁵ The expression was a proverbial one, occurring in Chaucer and Langland. See Skeat's note (v. 388) to 'The Franklin's Tale,' l. 771.

'I haue tasted of the experience' (10/26-7). The triumph that his patience achieved was not a material one; on this side of the grave it rests upon the literary excellence of the biography which he wrote in his old age, the *Life* of the great cardinal whom he had served as a young man.

Date of Composition

When we turn from the somewhat scattered facts that comprise what we know of the life of George Cavendish to a consideration of his book itself, a good deal more information becomes available. His own statements provide us with some knowledge of when he wrote his *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* and these statements can be supplemented from internal evidence. According to the autograph manuscript, Cavendish finished his manuscript on 24 June 1558;¹ at the beginning of the *Life* (f. 2) he tells us that he began his book on the fourth day of November, but he does not give the year. We are thus provided with a satisfactory *terminus ad quem* for the *Life*,² but Cavendish's statement about the day on which he began his manuscript presents us with a problem that is not so easily solved.

There are only two references in the text that enable us to fix the date of composition more exactly.³ In the early part of his narrative (21/22-4) Cavendish speaks of 'themprou Charles the 5 that nowe reygnyth and nowe ffather vnto kyng Phillipe our Souerayn lord'. This passage has a double signifi-

¹ See above, p. x. The manuscript must have remained in Cavendish's hands until after 17 November 1558, for at some time after that date he composed his epitaph on Queen Mary and added his final note on the 'ruin' which was likely to ensue now that Elizabeth was on the throne. When he introduced this poem on Mary's death into his book, he seems to have disturbed its binding. Thus the poems, as we have them today, are not in their original order. For a full discussion of the binding of the manuscript see E. P. Hammond's edition of selections from the poems in *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, North Carolina, 1927), pp. 366-70.

² It seems impossible to determine precisely how long before 24 June 1558 Cavendish began work on his poems. Judging by the order in which they appear in the manuscript they would seem to have been composed after the *Life*, presumably, let us say, in 1557-8. On the basis of the internal evidence, there is no reason to suppose that any portion of the *Life* itself, except perhaps for final revisions, was written after 1557.

³ The allusion to 'the frenche kynges second Sonne . . . at this present kyng of ffrance' (62/12-13) merely indicates a date between 1546 and 1559, the years of Henry II's reign.

cance, for we know that Philip did not become emperor until his father abdicated in January 1556. It would thus seem that this portion of the text was written after July 1554, but before the news of Charles's retirement had reached England in 1556. Cavendish's 'fourth of November' must then refer to either 1554 or 1555. Further evidence is provided by the author's reference to 'm^r Ratclyfe Sonne & heyer to the lord ffitzwalter and after Erle of Sussex' (61/17-18). The Rev. Joseph Hunter, who first proved conclusively that George Cavendish and not his brother William was the author of the *Life*,¹ argued from the evidence of this passage that the *Life* must have been written before 17 February 1557, the date of Henry Radcliffe's death. Hunter, however, used one of the secondary manuscripts in which the passage read 'and *now* Earl of Sussex' instead of Cavendish's 'and *after* Earl of Sussex'. On the basis of the autograph manuscript it appears that this part of the text must have been composed after February 1557.

In the absence of any other conclusive data, it may well be doubted if we can go any further towards determining when Cavendish began his book. Since both the passages just cited occur in the early part of the *Life*, the period of time that elapsed between them should probably be narrowed as much as possible, thus making 4 November 1555 the more likely date. Even if that date is accepted, it might still seem somewhat unusual that Cavendish spent at least a year and a half on the first third of his work and then crammed the second two-thirds of it, not to mention his poems, into a period of about the same length.² As the matter stands, we can scarcely be more exact in our attempts to date the composition of the work and must be content to rest with the knowledge that the *Life of Wolsey* was written between 4 November 1554 and 24 June 1558.³

¹ In his pamphlet, 'Who Wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*?', cited above, p. xiv, n. 1.

² There is, of course, always the possibility that Cavendish did not hear of Charles's abdication until some time after it took place, or that he was simply careless in his reference to it.

³ In this connection, perhaps attention should be called to the inexact dates which the *O.E.D.* gives in its references to Cavendish. Most of its citations from the *Life* are assigned to 'a. 1562', the presumed date of his death.

Sources

If it were possible to be as certain about the sources from which Cavendish drew some of the materials that went into his *Life of Wolsey* as we can be about the date of its composition, a number of problems which the *Life* raises might be cleared up. We should like to know, for example, if he obtained any of his information from printed sources which were available to him and, if he did make use of such materials, how he developed or modified what he found there. Cavendish himself is fairly explicit about the matter. He tells us, at the opening of the *Life*, that he intends

to wryt heare some parte of the proceedings of the said Legat & Cardynall Wolsey Archebysshope of yorke . . . wherof some parte shalbe of myn owen knowlege And some of other persons Informacion/ etc. (3/27-32)

There can scarcely be any doubt that the major portion of his book is the product of his own direct experience. All of the second half of the *Life*, which concentrates on the last year of Wolsey's career when Cavendish was with him constantly, and much of the first half are presented as eye-witness accounts with Cavendish himself, as gentleman-usher, taking a part in the scenes that are related. Nevertheless, his statement about 'other persons' information' indicates that a certain amount of his material, at any rate, was not drawn directly from his own recollection of events.

An attempt to discover the identity of these 'other persons' and the extent to which Cavendish used them raises immediately the whole question of Cavendish's reliability as a reporter. Since much of the action which takes place in the *Life* is directly concerned with matters of state and public personalities, we are frequently able, by using the *State Papers* and the *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*,¹ to keep a close check on

¹ No previous edition of Cavendish has attempted to make anything like a full use of this material. John Holmes, whose notes are included in Wordsworth's fourth edition (1853) as well as in his own edition of 1852, had access to the *State Papers* but not to the *Letters and Papers*. While often helpful to the reader, his annotations do not attempt to check Cavendish's historical accuracy.

Cavendish's accuracy. If he can be shown to have been exact in those passages where his account can be confirmed, then the credibility of his narrative where he himself is our only witness should carry a considerably greater weight. On the other hand, if errors do occur, we should like to know if there is a possibility that they may be put down to his having relied not 'on his own knowledge' but rather 'on other persons' information', whoever they may have been.

It is apparent from the *Life* itself that one of Cavendish's principal informants for Wolsey's early career, where a good many of the historical errors in the work occur, was the cardinal himself. After describing Wolsey's speedy journey to France when he was a royal chaplain to Henry VII, Cavendish tells us (10/29-30) that he received this tale 'of his [Wolsey's] owen mowthe and report/ after his ffall lyeng at that tyme in the great parke of Richemond'. How much else the cardinal may have told his usher during those dark days of 1530 is matter for speculation, but we do know that they had several conversations of this nature together, two of which are reported later in the *Life*.¹ After the second of these garden talks between servant and master, Cavendish tells us (138/3-4) that 'we had myche more talke', but he does not tell us what he and the cardinal discussed. Such words force an editor of the *Life* into conjecture, but there is at least the possibility that a good part of Cavendish's book resulted from these conversations.

The *Life* tells us little more about Cavendish's other possible informants.² That he did rely chiefly on some such oral information when he was not writing from his own memory seems probable from the manner in which he refers to the printed histories that he had seen. He began his book, he informs us in

¹ See the text, pp. 127ff. and pp. 135ff. The first conversation took place at Richmond and the second at Sir William Fitzwilliam's house at Milton Manor, Northampton.

² There are occasional references to conversations or stories that Cavendish 'heard reported from other persons'. Thus he tells us that he relied on the report of 'them that wayted vppon the kyng at dynner' for his account of the conversation between Anne and Henry at Grafton (94/33-4). Earlier he says that he 'hard his chapleyn say' that Wolsey always said his office completely through before going to bed (22/36).

his prologue, in order to tell the truth about the cardinal; furthermore, the truth could not be learned from books for

I have harde & also sene sett forthe in divers printed bookes some vntrue imaginations after the death of divers parsons . . . that weare inventyd rather to bringe there honest names into infamie & perpetuall slander of the common mvltitude then otherwyse.

These were the writers who 'with there blasphemous trompe' had 'spred abrode innvmerable lyes . . . where in there is notheng more vntrwe'. Writing as a Catholic in the reign of Mary, Cavendish is determined to correct those distortions of history which he must have considered to have been the Protestant propaganda of the previous two reigns, particularly as they related to the cardinal and the events of his life.

Later on in the first part of the *Life*¹ we find him referring to 'historygraffers of Cronycles of prynces' (11/8), to 'the writers of Cronycles' (43/10) and to the 'Cronycles of Englund' (50/33). In each case he carefully distinguishes his own biography from the narratives of the historians. He is not describing coronations or relating opinions of governmental policy, but instead is concerned with building up a picture of the life of one man. What is important for our purposes here is that Cavendish shows a considerable familiarity with the chronicles that had appeared before Mary's reign. What were these chronicles and what might they have contributed to the *Life of Wolsey*?

The one historical work published prior to 1554-8 that contains any detailed account of Wolsey's activities was Hall's *Chronicle*,² a book notoriously Protestant in its bias and famed for the defence which it makes of the policies of Henry VIII.

¹ It is interesting to observe that every reference which Cavendish makes to printed books or to other writers occurs in the first portion of his narrative. All but two of them, in fact, come in the first fifty pages and these two (pp. 73 and 78) simply compare his own descriptions with what one might read elsewhere in 'histories or chronicles.' The other references occur on pp. 3, 11, 13, 43, and 50.

² Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & York*, London, 1542, 1548, 1550. No complete copy of the 1542 edition is now extant. I use the reprint of 1809. Cavendish may very well have read the chronicles of Fabyan (1516, 1533, etc.) and Hardyng (1543, with Grafton's continuation) but these supply little detailed information

It would perhaps be going too far to assert that it was the publication of Hall's work which first prompted Cavendish to begin his *Life*, but there is ample reason to believe both that he knew the *Chronicle* well and that he may have taken some of his material from it. This is not the place to set down the correspondences between Hall and the *Life*, which are cited in detail in the historical notes, but on the basis of the evidence there provided it is possible to generalize on the nature of Cavendish's debt.

While it must be emphasized that Cavendish wrote to correct such versions of history as may be found in Hall, it seems equally true that, as he worked at the *Life*, he was turning over the pages of the historian, refreshing his memory at the same time that he was firing his indignation. The verbal parallels between the two works are often quite close.¹ Thus, for example, the items in Cavendish's list of the presents which the citizens of London gave to the French embassy of 1527 all appear in a similar but more detailed list in Hall.² So too Hall's description of Wolsey at Canterbury, in which he tells us how the cardinal directed the litany to be recited,³ parallels Cavendish's 'Sancta maria ora pro papa nostro Clemente And so pervsed the litteny

about Wolsey and the reign of Henry VIII. He seems also to have known the *Cronicles of Englonde* which Wynkyn de Worde edited in 1515 and 1528 (STC 9987 and 10002; see the note to 50/33). It seems unlikely that Cavendish would have had access to other chronicles like the *Chronicle of Calais* or Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, which remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century.

It is not, of course, impossible that Cavendish had seen the third edition (1555) of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, which contains a highly prejudiced account of the cardinal. Polydore's first two editions (1534 and 1546), the first of which was certainly used by Hall, carry the story down only so far as 1509. I have not been able to discover any close resemblances between Polydore's narrative and Cavendish's.

It should perhaps also be noted that when Cavendish speaks of the slanders against Wolsey he may be thinking of the verse satires of Skelton, Roy, and Barlowe, or of the anti-Catholic tracts of Barnes, Fish, and Tyndale. For these works, see the article by P. L. Wiley, 'Renaissance Exploitation of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*,' *SP*, XLIII (1946), 121-46. In none of these works do we find any close correspondences with Cavendish's narrative, but they undoubtedly contributed to the general atmosphere of dislike for the cardinal against which the gentleman-usher writes.

¹ See Appendix C for the speeches, too long to be given here, at the divorce trial as reported by Hall and Cavendish.

² See the historical notes to p. 66.

³ p. 728, 'S. Maria, ora pro Clemente papa. S. Petre ora pro Clemente papa. & so furthe al y^e letany.'

thorough'. Much more often than not, however, Cavendish, as we might expect, either omits details given by Hall or amplifies Hall's descriptions in order to present a more favourable account of Wolsey.¹ Thus where Hall describes in detail the pomp that the cardinal intended to display at his installation in York cathedral, Cavendish emphasizes the modest ceremonies that were to have taken place and reinforces his account with the statement 'The trowthe wherof I perfectly knowe/ for I was made pryvye to the same/ And sent to yorke to forse all thyng' (148/11-12).

Such parallel or contrasted passages, which can be followed in detail in the notes to the present edition, will not prove that Cavendish actually copied any of Hall's narrative into his own pages in the same manner as the later sixteenth-century historians were to transpose both Hall and Cavendish into theirs;² nor, indeed, are they offered as showing conclusively that Cavendish knew and used Hall's work. They should indicate, however, that of all the writers whom Cavendish may have had in mind when he spoke of the 'Cronycles of prynces', Hall comes closest to satisfying his description. In any event, it seems evident that the words with which Hall concludes his summary of the cardinal's character—'To write the life and doynge of this Cardinal, it were a great worke'—could not have failed, had Cavendish read them, to have inspired the *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*.

Cavendish as Historian

The problem of the sources which Cavendish may have used when he came to compose his *Life of Wolsey* leads directly to the more important question of his own accuracy as a chronicler of events. While it is probable, as has been seen, that he relied to some extent on 'other persons' information', which may have included such 'information' as he could have found in Hall, it

¹ Among other instances, see especially the words put into Suffolk's mouth at the trial scene (90/26-7) and the account of Wolsey's words when arrested by Northumberland (155).

² At times, as in Cavendish's garbled account of the battle of Pavia, one almost wishes that the source of his errors could be found in Hall. For the vexed question of this battle see Appendix B and, for the uses which later writers made of Cavendish, Appendix D.

is nevertheless true that his book has claimed the attention of historians principally because of its value as an eye-witness account in its own right. This has been the case, so far as we can determine, from the very first. The compiler of the materials for a life of Bishop Fisher, who at some time before 1576 copied passages from Cavendish into his manuscript collections,¹ did so in the belief that he was thus preserving a first-hand version of the bishop's words at the divorce trial of 1529. Subsequent Elizabethan historians, who take over much of Cavendish's narrative directly from manuscript, or from Stowe, who first printed portions of it in 1580, accept, with or without acknowledgement, the *Life of Wolsey* as a faithful account of the cardinal's life and times. Even Cavendish's first editor, the Puritan propagandist who published the *Life* in 1641 to demonstrate the parallel between Wolsey's career and Archbishop Laud's, did not, with one exception,² change or attempt to criticize any of Cavendish's statements.

While the historians continue to make use of Cavendish's narrative, it is not until after the Restoration that they begin to question his accuracy. Burnet, whose *History of the Reformation* appeared between 1670 and 1715, was apparently the first historian to comment adversely upon Cavendish's account of the battle of Pavia.³ His strictures were amplified by Wolsey's eighteenth-century apologist, Richard Fiddes, who nevertheless gives us an evaluation of Cavendish's worth as an historian that has been generally accepted down to the present day:

... a Man of Probity, who lived under a Sense of Religion, and spake from the Heart. If he had not all the great Talents, requisite in a Historian, he is yet much to be valued for those Qualities. His Fidelity may be depended upon concerning Things, which

¹ These are now in British Museum MS. Arundel 152. *The Life of Fisher* was edited by Franciscus Van Ortroij in *Analecta Bollandiana*, x (1891), 121-365 and xii (1893), 97-287. Van Ortroij notes that the author, in compiling his materials, 'ne néglige aucun moyen de contrôle et n'affirme rien à la légère' (x, 139).

² He did introduce the words 'at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself' into the narrative of Wolsey's last illness. Otherwise, the 1641 edition merely compresses and summarizes Cavendish's work; the distortions it contains result principally from omission, not commission.

³ Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, ed. Nicholas Pocock (7 vols., Oxford, 1865), i, 31.

he relates upon his personal Knowledge, or which fell more directly within the Compass of his own Observation. His Stile is clear, and, for the Time wherein he lived, significant and polite enough. He writes with the free and negligent Air of a Gentleman, which much becomes him; and he is sometimes happy, without appearing to have any such design, in addressing himself to the Imagination and Passions. There are some Passages in him, whereby a Reader who has any true Taste, will find himself agreeably moved. He writes with great Impartiality, and tho' he had an Honour and Esteem for his Master, he does not conceal or dissemble his Failures, nor fly out into any indecent Heats or Expressions, against those, who used him very ill.¹

A similar opinion was voiced in 1810 by a reviewer of Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, in the first volume of which the *Life of Wolsey* was printed for the first time in anything like its full form.² Cavendish, he notes, 'was not one of those unobserving men, who seem never to apprehend that what is familiar to themselves will become curious to posterity. He saw with an exact and discriminating eye, and what he beheld he was able to describe'.³ This was also the judgement of Van Ortrov,⁴ whose considered evaluation of Cavendish's accuracy we shall have occasion to discuss later.

But it was left for a great modern historian, A. F. Pollard,⁵ to incorporate the historical evidence which Cavendish preserves into a brilliant biography of Wolsey. As the notes to the present edition will illustrate, a considerable part of the present editor's historical work has already been done for him in this masterly study. For Pollard, Cavendish 'gives us the classic example of history as it appears to a gentleman-usher'.⁶ The

¹ Richard Fiddes, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (London, 1724). This passage occurs in Fiddes's 'Collections' of documents, which form the second part of his volume (p. 242).

² Singer (i, xxiv-xxv) says that Joseph Grove, who had reprinted a large part of the 1641 edition of Cavendish in the footnotes to his *Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey* (4 vols., London, 1742-44), later came across one of the better secondary manuscripts and in 1761 'printed off a small impression with a preface and notes'. I have not been able to discover a copy of this volume, which was said by Singer to be 'one of the rarest of English books.'

³ *Quarterly Review*, iv (1810), 97.

⁴ Van Ortrov, op. cit., x, 354, note 2. See below, p. xxxvi.

⁵ A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

gentle irony of his remark by no means indicates that Pollard fails to give Cavendish the fullest possible credit as an observer of events; it does point up the fact that he measures Cavendish's narrative by a far more stringent standard of historical accuracy than had been applied to it by previous biographers of the cardinal who had made use of the *Life of Wolsey*. On the other hand, Pollard's real appreciation of Cavendish's literary achievement¹ enhances the value of those passages in his own biography where he makes most use of Cavendish's narrative.² From his book and from a comparison with contemporary documents of those portions of Cavendish which he does not analyse, certain points emerge concerning the reliability of the *Life* as history.

The first problem that such a study confronts is the question of Cavendish's memory, the state of affairs in that 'gross old head' when, nearly thirty years after the major events which the *Life* describes, he began to set down the results of his meditations. Time, which may mellow literary perceptions and give them strength, is singularly unkind to the historian. It destroys records and blurs the factual surface of events. Although Cavendish can at times assert that he is certain about the truth of his account, there are several places in the *Life* where he expresses doubt about his ability to recall the exact circumstances of the events he describes. The gifts to that French embassy in 1527, for instance, 'w^{che} I cannot nowe call to my remembraunce' (75/19); or the details of Wolsey's dinner, when the cardinal's cross fell on Doctor Bonner, which 'I wyll (god wyllng) declare . . . accordyng to my symple remembraunce' (149/34-150/1). And what of those other passages where Cavendish is relating not his own observations but those things which the cardinal, himself recollecting events that happened twenty years before,

¹ Historians have, in general, been much more ready to take cognizance of Cavendish's artistic ability than have the literary critics upon whose shoulders that task would seem most naturally to devolve. Mattingly's remark (*Catherine of Aragon*, Boston, 1941, p. 459) is typical: 'Direct quotations [in his account of the divorce trial] are from Cavendish, not because I am sure he got the speeches verbatim, but because the temptation to steal Cavendish's language when one can is irresistible.'

² Note, for example, how his fifth chapter (pp. 165 ff.) is organized around Cavendish's dramatic scene between Wolsey and the Duke of Norfolk (below, pp. 114 ff.).

told him when they conversed in the garden at Richmond? In the light of these statements it would not seem at all remarkable if Cavendish should have turned to the pages of Hall in an effort to restore a certain freshness to the events which he had once lived through.

There are a number of factual errors in the *Life*. Some of these, perhaps the majority of them, can be safely attributed to Cavendish's occasionally faulty memory. In order to get a proper perspective on the *Life*, however, it is necessary to consider the several classes into which these 'errors' fall. At least three separate types can be distinguished:

I. *Errors of fact*

These include the misnaming of personages, as Richard Wiltshire for John Wiltshire (45/16), and mistakes in geographical distances, as in the statement that Cawood is seven miles from York (144/10-11). Most of Cavendish's minor errors, in so far as they can be demonstrated, are of this sort. They are usually fairly easy to correct and probably were committed through simple carelessness.

II. *Errors in the sequence of events*

Van Ortoy, in analysing the uses which the author of the anonymous *Life of Fisher* made of Cavendish, remarks shrewdly that

Les documents contemporains, mis au jour dans ces derniers temps, ont considérablement réhabilité l'autorité de Cavendish pour l'exactitude des faits, mais non pour l'ordre chronologique dans lequel ils se sont passés. Je suis donc porté à admettre son témoignage, quand il n'est pas contredit par ailleurs ou par des invraisemblances manifestes.¹

This class of mistake is by far the most frequent in the *Life*. Thus Cavendish places the appeal to the universities for opinions on the divorce before and not after the trial itself; he represents the cardinal as calling the bishops together after and not before the trip to France in 1527; and he gives a thoroughly confused account of Wolsey's indictment for praemunire after

¹ Van Ortoy, op. cit., x, 354, note 2.

his fall.¹ This sort of error can sometimes be assigned to a failure of memory, but, as I shall presently suggest, there is good reason to believe that Cavendish at times deliberately disregards the exigencies of chronology in the interests of the total artistic structure of his biography.

III. Omissions

It is evident to anyone who is familiar with the events of Wolsey's life that many things about which Cavendish, unless he was blinder than he elsewhere shows himself to be, must have known, are omitted from his narrative. He tells us almost nothing of Wolsey's personal life; there is no mention, for example, of Wolsey's mistress or of his illegitimate son, Thomas Winter. Furthermore, when Cavendish repeats criticisms that he had heard made against the cardinal, he does so to deny them, never to offer confirmatory evidence. He himself criticizes, it is true, but he does not accept the criticisms of others. Sometimes we are able to show that he deliberately suppressed material that was known to him. The most striking instance of this is a passage from his poems relating to Wolsey's activities after his fall:

To forrayn potentates [I] wrott my letters playn,
Desireng their ayd, to restore me to favor againe.
(Singer, II, 15)

But we learn nothing at all of these intrigues from the *Life* itself.

Historians may well deplore the limitation which such 'faults' as these place upon the value of the *Life of Wolsey* as a factual record of the cardinal's rise and fall. On the other hand, the literary critic may surmise that Cavendish's mistakes are not always to be explained as simple lapses of a hazy memory. Wolsey as he was in himself appears only partially in Cavendish's *Life*, but the artistic idea which his gentleman-usher formed of him is given to us in the full. Yet, when due allowance has been made for Cavendish's slips of memory and the exigencies of his

¹ His recollection, says Pollard (p. 262), 'when he wrote in 1557, of what had happened in 1529 was so confused that he gives the failure of the "bill" in the house of commons in December as the reason for Wolsey's indictment for *praemunire* in the king's bench on the preceding 4 October'.

sense of form, we can nevertheless affirm that in many passages the factual accuracy of his book is astonishing. Whether or not Cavendish kept a record of events as they occurred cannot now be determined. He was, most assuredly, no Boswell, constructing a monument to a great man from an ever-increasing accumulation of memoranda, even if he may have had no small part of Boswell's talent for organizing conversations into set dramatic pieces. But he has a Renaissance eye for details of splendid clothing and for scenes of pomp and luxury. His sense of colour is almost as good as his ear for voices and he can remember a detail like the three steps ('gresis') on Wolsey's traverse at Amiens (54/3 and n.). He may be wrong about the colour of the French king's coat but another contemporary account shows him to have been right about the material with which it was lined (52/25-6 and n.). Sometimes we are even able to confirm the very words which he puts into the mouths of those he is writing about (84/13-4, 127/5-6 and notes, Appendix C). Through all of his work runs a tireless curiosity, a quality in himself which Cavendish reveals directly when he tells us that he accepted an invitation to visit 'Chastell de Crykkey' because he 'was allwayes desirous to se and be acquaynted w^t strayngers inespecyall w^t men in honour and Auctorytie' (55/1-3). And it is the cardinal himself, the greatest, for Cavendish, of those in 'honour and Auctorytie', who lives for us in the vivid pages of the *Life of Wolsey*.

The Text

Believing that an edition of a sixteenth-century manuscript should be as faithful as possible to the original and, at the same time, intelligible to modern readers, I have adopted an apparatus which, it is hoped, will prove satisfactory on both counts.

The first page of the text is reproduced from Bodleian MS. Douce 363 to replace the missing first page of Egerton 2402. The Douce MS. (transcribed in 1578) has few abbreviations and presents no major difficulties for the editor. MS. Egerton 2402, on the other hand, is written in a frequently difficult script which is characterized by a highly irregular system of spelling,

capitalization, and punctuation. Cavendish's spelling is here reproduced exactly, including his superscript letters, some of which also function as abbreviations. Thus *w^t* (with), *w^{che}* (whiche), *yo^r* (your), *ma^{tie}* (maiestie), *instrum^t* (instrument), etc. So too with Cavendish's numbers, which are usually written in Roman numerals, e.g. *vjj^{en}* (seven), *viiith* (eighth), etc. The superscript ^{ll} is an abbreviation for *libra* (pound); the symbol *xiiij^{xx}* (68/30) means 'fourteen score' (280).

In addition to these superscript letters, Cavendish uses ten true marks of abbreviation. All of these, as listed below, have been silently expanded in the present text.

1. The mark standing for *us*. E.g. *oblivyou^s* 5/28.
2. The mark standing for *ur*. E.g. *fauou^r* 4/25. When this mark follows No. 9 (below) the combination has been expanded as *sure* (cf. *displeasure* in full, 171/26). See Frontispiece, line 12 *pleasures*.
3. Superior *a*. Expanded as *a* or as *au*, depending on the spelling of the word in which it occurs. In words like *plesaunt* Cavendish uses it as simply a superior *a*; but, when *m*, *n*, or *u* precedes the *a*, the superior *a* is employed as an abbreviation for *au*. Thus Cavendish writes *chaunced*, *demaunded*, *dauncyng*, etc., in full, spelling them almost always¹ with *au*, no doubt to avoid writing six or seven minims in succession. The only exception to this rule is the word *quarter* (52/16, etc.) where the superior *a* is equivalent to *ua*.
4. \frown Expanded as *m* or *n* (*commyttyng*, *incontynent*) except in the word *sperytuall*² (MS. *sp^uall*) which is written in full as *Sperytuall* at 10/18. *C^oenly*, *c^oenwell*, etc., are expanded as *comenly* and *comenwell* in view of the fact that Cavendish has *comenly* in full at least four times (11/29, 22/34, 61/35, 74/14). If the expanded forms did not occur in the text one would be inclined to print *commenly*, *commenwell*, etc., since the \frown abbreviation in these words is based on that for the Latin *commune* (*c^oe*).

¹ The only two exceptions I have found are *gouernance* (35/31) and *ordynance* (172/12).

² But cf. *sp^{ri}tuall* (MS. *sp^{ri}uall*) 17/23, perhaps a pronunciation spelling.

5. The looped abbreviation, which occurs only as a suffix, is expanded as *es*. See Frontispiece, line 1 *Intraylles*.
6. p with a curly stroke through it. Expanded as *pro*, e.g. *prospered* 4/33, etc.
7. p with a straight stroke through it. Expanded as *per* whenever this spelling is possible (*person* 5/1, etc.), or as *par* (*departyng* 5/16, etc.).
8. The mark standing for *er* (except when it occurs above p). E.g. *euer*, *Douer*, *mercy*. The mark above p has been expanded as *re* or *ri*, according to the spelling required, e.g. *preferment*; *pryve* 7/11 (*pryvy* in full, 22/34).
9. Long s with a back stroke through it. Expanded as *ser* (*serued*); as *sir*, when it stands alone (cf. *Syr* in full, 26/30); when followed by No. 2 (above), as *sur* in the prefix *sur-* (17/15, etc.) and as *sure* at the end of a word (cf. No. 2, above). See Frontispiece, line 8 *serued*, line 5 *sir*, line 12 *pleasures*.
10. A horizontal stroke through an ascender is expanded as (a) *sub-* (MS. *sḃ* 11/20, etc.), (b) *iesu* (MS. *iḥu* 10/36, etc.), (c) *syngular* (MS. *syngtr* 33/25, etc.). Cavendish does not write either *syngular* or *synglar* in full and an editor's judgment must be arbitrary in this case.

As the manuscript is an autograph, the textual footnotes have been made as full as possible. They record the interlineated and cancelled readings in the manuscript as well as the editor's emendations. The latter are relatively few in number and are usually concerned with slight revisions of Cavendish's punctuation. An indecipherable, cancelled letter within a word in the manuscript is represented in the present edition by a point (.); single indecipherable letters are described as such in the notes. Expanded abbreviations are italicized in the footnotes when the reading is relevant to an emendation: thus, 4/25, honours] *MS. honourrs*.

Cavendish capitalizes words without any apparent system and I have tried to follow the vagaries of his script exactly. This causes no difficulty where the lower and upper case forms are markedly different, but when small and capital letters can be distinguished only by their size, the editor's choice must be

somewhat arbitrary. I have not noted any significant distinctions of form or size in Cavendish's *h*, *k*, or *l* and these are all reproduced in lower case. The letters *a*, *v*, *w*, and *y* can occasionally be distinguished by their size and *a* by its shape as well. All other letters have separate upper and lower case forms. The heavily shaded letters with which Cavendish begins paragraphs or speeches are here reproduced in bold face type. The folio numbers of the manuscript are placed within square brackets in the text.

Cavendish's punctuation is equally irregular and has occasioned a number of editorial emendations. He uses a virgule (/) to mark most pauses and sometimes doubles or triples the bar for a more emphatic stop.¹ Where a pause seems absolutely necessary to the sense and no punctuation is given in the manuscript, I have supplied the virgule. The only other mark of punctuation which Cavendish uses is an occasional comma and this normally occurs in items in a sequence, as *wyne*, *Suger*, *waxe*, etc., 66/5. The parentheses in the text are Cavendish's own; he employs them for asides and to indicate a foreign phrase or a word used in an unusual sense (e.g. (*boye*), 5/1). Occasionally there are parentheses within parentheses (e.g. 130/7-8).

The word division of the manuscript has been retained in the text: thus *a mong* (among) 17/4, and *a ray* (array) 52/17-18.²

¹ Note how the characterization of Anne Boleyn as *the nyght Crowe* (137/19) is followed by four virgules.

² For a full discussion of Cavendish's literary achievement (cf. above, p. xxxv ff.) see my article, 'Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*: The Artistry of a Tudor Biographer,' which is to appear in a forthcoming (1959) issue of *Studies in Philology*.

Thomas Wolsey late Cardinall,
his lyffe and deathe,
Written by
George Cauendishe,
his gentleman Vsshare.

To write the life and doynges of this Cardinal,
it were a great worke.

(Hall, *Chronicle*)

THE PROLOGE

Me Semes it Were no Wisdom to creadit every light tale,
blazed by the blasphemous mowthes of rude commonalty, for
we dayly here how with there blasphemous trompe they spred
abrode innvmerable lyes, without ether shame or honestye
(which prima facie) sheweth forth a vysage of trwthe, as 5
thowghe it weare a perfet veritie, & matter in deede. where in
there is notheng more vntrwe, And amonge the wyse sorte so it
is esteemed, with whome these bablinges be of small force &
effect/ fforsothe I have redd thexclamations of divers woorthy
& notable authors made agaynste suche false Rumors & fonde 10
opinions of the fantasticall comonaltye, who delytith notheng
more then to here strainge thinges, And to see new alterations
of authorites, reioyseng somtyme in suche new fantises w^{ch}
afterwarde geveth them more occasion of repentans then of
Ioyfulnes. Thus maye all men of wisdom & discretion vnder- 15
stande the temerous madnes of the rvde commonaltye & not
geveng to them to hastie credite of every sodayne rumor, vntill
the trwthe bee perfetly knowene by the reporte of some
approved & credible person, y^t owght to have there of trwe
intelligence/ 20

I have harde & also sene sett forthe in divers printed bookes
some vntrue imaginations after the death of divers parsons, w^{ch}
in there lyffe, were of great estimation, that weare inventyd
rather to bringe there honest names into infamie & perpetuall
slander of the common mvltitude then otherwyse/ 25

'The occasyon thereof y^t maketh me to reherse all these thinges,
is this, 'That for az miche az I intende God willing, to wryt
heare some parte of the proceedings of the said [Egerton 2402,
f. 4] Legat & Cardynall Wolsey Archebysshope of yorke/ and
of hys assendyng & dissendyng/ to & frome honourous estate/ 30
wherof some parte shalbe of myn owen knowlege And some of
other persons Informacion/ fforsothe this Cardynall was my

lord & m^r whome in his lyve I seruyd/ and so remayned w^t
 hyme/ after hys fall contynually duryng the terme of all his
 troble vntill he died/ as well in the Sowthe as in the Northe
 parties/ And noted all hys demeanor & vsage in all that tyme/
 5 As also in his welthy tryhumphe & gloryous estate/ And synce
 his deathe/ I haue hard dyuers sondry surmysis & Imagyned tales
 made of his procedynges & doynge^s w^{che} I my selfe haue
 perfightly knowen/ to be most vntrewe vnto the w^{che} I cowld
 haue sufficyently answered accordyng to the trouthe/ but as me
 10 semyth than/ it was myche better for me to suffer and dissimull
 the matter and the same to remayn styll as lyes/ than to replie
 ayenst ther vntrouthe of whome I myght for my boldnes soner
 haue kyndeled a great flame of displeasures than to quenche
 oon sparke of ther malycious ontrowthe/ Therfore I commyt the
 15 treuthe to hyme that knowyth all trouthe/ ffor what so euer/
 any man hath conceyved in hyme when he lyued or synce his
 dethe/ thus myche I dare be bold to say w^tout displeasure to
 any person or of affeccion/ that in my Iugeme^t I neuer sawe thys
 realme/ in better order quyotnes & obedyence/ than it was in
 20 the tyme of his auctoryte & Rule/ ne Iustice better mynestred
 w^t indifferencye/ As I could euidently prove/ If I shold not be
 accused of to myche affeccion or elles that I setforthe more than
 trouthe/ I wyll therfore here desist to speke any more in his
 commendacion/ And proced fyrst to his orygynall begynnnyng
 25 assendyng by fortunes fauour to highe honours/ dignyties/
 promotions/ and riches//

ffinis. q^d. G. C.

[f. 5] **Trewthe it ys/** Cardynall wolsey somtyme Archebisshope/
 of york/ was an honest poore mans Sonne borne in Ipsewiche
 30 w^t in the Countie of Suffolk/ And beyng but a child was very
 Apte to learnyng/ by means wherof his parentes or his good
 ffrendes and maysters conveyed hyme to the vnyuersitie of
 Oxford/ where he prospered so in learnyng that (As he told me

1 lord *canc. before* lord; lord *interl.*; r of m^r no longer visible

canc. before selfe

8 cowld *canc. before* cowld

7 self

after my

25 v *canc. before* to; honours] *MS.* honours

12 past *canc.*

31 of

canc. before or; or *interl.*

his owen person) he was called the (boye) bachelor for as myche
as he was made bachelor of art at xv^{en} yeres of age/ w^{che} was a
rare thyng And seldome seen/

Thus prospering And encreasing in learnyng, was made fellowe
of Magdaleyn Collage/ And after appoynted (for his learnyng) 5
to be Schole M^r there// At w^{che} tyme the lord Marques Dorsett
had iij^{re} of his sonnes At scole there w^t hyme/ Commyttyng
As well vnto hyme there vertuous Education as ther Instruccion
and learnyng/ Yt pleased the seyd Marques Ayenst A Cristmas
season to send as well for the Scole m^r As for his childerne home 10
to hys howsse for ther recreacion in that pleasaunt & honorable
feast/ They beyng then there/ My lord ther ffather perceyved
them to be right well employed in learnyng for ther tyme w^{che}
contentyd hyme so well/ that he haueng a benefice in his gyft
beyng at that tyme voyde/ gave the same to the Scole M^r in 15
reward for hys diligence/ At his departyng after Cristmas vppon
his retourne to the vnyuersitie/ And havng the presentacion
therof repayed to the Ordynarie for his Institucion And
Induccion/ than beyng fully ffurnysshed of all necessarie
Instrum^{tes} at the Ordinaris handes for his preferment/ made 20
spede w^tout any fferther delay to the [f. 5^v] seyd benefice to take
therof possession/ And beyng there for that entent Oon sir Amys
Pawlett knyght dwelling in that Contrie there Abought toke an
occasion of displeasure Ayenst hyme/ Vppon what ground I
knowe not/ But sir by yo^r leave he was so bold to sett the Scole 25
M^r by the feete duryng hys pleasure/ The w^{che} was afterward
nother forgotten ne forgevyn ffor whan the Scole M^r mountyd
the dignytie to be Chauncelour of Englund he was not obliuious
of the old displeasure mynystred vnto hyme by M^r Pawlett/ but
sent for hyme And after many sharpe & heynous wordes enioyned 30
hyme to attend vppon the Councell vntill he ware by them
dismyssed/ And not to departe w^tout licence vppon an vrgent
payn & forfeiture/ So that he contynued w^tin the Middell temple
the space of .v. or vj yeres or more/ whos logyng there was in
the Gathowsse next the strett/ the w^{che} he reedefied very 35
sumptuously garnysshing the same on the owtsyde therof w^t

8 vertuous *interl.* 12 thus *canc. before* there 18 ord *canc. before*
Institucion; Institucion] MS. Institucion 26 w^{che} *interl.* 28 to be
interl.; Chauncelour] MS. of Chauncelour

Cardynalles hattes And Armez bagges And Cognysaunces of the
Cardynalles w^t dyuers other devisis in so gloryous a sort that he
thought therby to appese his old onkynd displeasure/

- Nowe** may thys be a good example And precedent to men in
5 Auctoritie/ (w^{che} woll sometyne worke ther wyll w^tout wytt)
to remember in ther Auctoritie/ howe Auctoritey may dekaye/
And whome they punysshe of wyll more than of Iustice may
after be Advaunced in the publyke wele to highe dignytes And
gouernaunce/ And they based as lowe/ who wyll than seke the
10 means to be revenged of old wronges susteyned wrongfully
byfore/ who wold haue thought than that whan sir Amys
Pawlett punysshed this poor Scoler that euer he shold haue
attayned to be Chauncelour of Englund consideryng his base-
nes in euery condicion/ 'Thes be wonderfull workes of god And
15 ffortune/ Therefore I wold wysse All men in Auctorytie &
dignytie to knowe and feare god in all ther tryumphes & glory
consideryng [f. 6] in all ther doynges that Auctorytes be not
permanent but may slide And vanyssh as prynces pleasures do
Alter & chaynge/
20 **Than as all** lyvyng thynges must of very necessitie pay the
dewe dett of natur w^{che} no earthely creature can resist Yt
chaunced the lord Marques to depart owt of this present lyfe/
After whos deathe/ The Scole M^r consideryng than w^t hym self
to be but a small beneficed man/ And to haue lost his ffellowe-
25 shyne in the College (ffor as I vnderstand if a fellowe of that
College be oons promoted to a benyfyce he shall by the Rewles
of the howsse be dismyssed of his ffellowshipe)/ And perseyvyng
hyme self to be also destitute of his syngular good lord/ thought
not to be long onprovided of some other Socours or stafe to
30 defend hyme frome all suche Stormes as he lately susteyned/
And in hys travell there Abought/ he fill in acquayntaunce w^t
oon sir Iohn Nanfant A very grave & auncyaunt knyght who
had a great rome in Calice vnder kyng herre the vijth/ 'This
knyght he serued & behaued hym so discretly and Iustly that he
35 opteyned thespecyall fauour of his seyd M^r/ in so myche that
for his wytt, gravite & Iust behauour/ he commytted all the

1 armez *canc. before* Armez; and *canc. after* Armez
before than

15 did *canc. after* &

7 of wyll *canc.*
31 in] *written over* as

charge of his office vnto his Chapleyn/ And as I vnderstand the
Office was the Treasorshipe of Calice/ who was in Consideracion
of his great age discharged of his chargeable Rome/ And
retorned agayn in to England entending to lyve at more quyett/
And thoroughe his Instant labor And especyall fauor his 5
chapleyn was promoted to the kynges seruyce and made his
Chapleyn/ And whan he had oons cast anker in the port of
promocion [f. 6^v] howe he wrought I shall somewhat declare/
he hauyng than a Iust occasion to be in present sight of the kyng
daylye by reason he attendyd and seyde Masse byfore his grace 10
in his pryve closett/ And that done he spent not the day forthe
in vayn Idelnes but gave his attendaunce vppon thos whome he
thought to bere most rewle in the Councell and to be most in
fauour w^t the kyng/ the w^{che} at that tyme ware Doctor floxe
bysshope of wynchester than Secretary and lord pryve Seale/ 15
And also sir Thomas lovell knyght a very sage Councillour &
witty beyng M^r of the kynges wardes and Constable of the
'Tower/ 'Thes auntyent and grave Councillours in processe of
tyme after often resort perceyved this Chapleyn to haue a very
ffyne wytt/ And what wysdome was pact in his hede thought a 20
mete & an apte person to be preferred to wytty affayers/ Yt
chaunced at a certyn season that the kyng had an vrgent
Occasion to send an ambassette vnto the Emprour Maxymilian/
who lay at that present in the lowe Contrie of fflaunders not
ferre from Calice/ The bysshope of wynchester and sir 'Thomas 25
lovell/ whome the kyng most highly esteemed as cheaffe among
his Councillours/ the kyng consultyng and debatyng w^t them
vppon this ambassett/ Sawe that they hade a convenyent occasion
to preferre the kynges Chapleyn/ Whos excellent wytt Eloquence
and learnyng they highly commendyd to the kyng/ The kyng 30
gevyng eare vnto theme/ And beyng a prynce of an excellent
Iugemet And Modestie/ commaundyng to bryng his Chapleyn
(whome they so myche commendyd) byfore his grace presence
to prove the wytt of his chapleyn/ At whos repayer the kyng fill
in Commynycacion w^t hyme in matters of waytie gravitie/ And 35
perceyvyng his wytt to be very fynne/ thought hyme sufficient

11 he *canc.* before he

21 affayers/ Yt] *MS.* affayers Yt

34 his *canc.* after prove

15 chefe *interl.* and *canc.* before Secretary

31 prince *canc.* before prynce

to be put in auctorytie & trust w^t this ambassett commaundyd
 hyme there vppon to prepare hyme self to this enterpriced
 Iourney/ And for his depeche to repayer to his grace and his
 trusty Councillours aforseyd/ [f. 7] Of whome he shold receyve
 5 his commyssion and Instruccion by means wherof he had than
 a dewe occasion to repayer frome tyme to tyme in to the kynges
 presence/ Who perceyved hyme more & more to be a very wyse
 man and of good entendeme^t/

And havyng his depeche toke his leave of the kyng at Riche-
 10 mond about none and so came to london w^t spede where than
 the Barge of Graveshend was redy to launche forthe bothe w^t a
 prosperous tyde and wynd/ w^tout any further abode he entred
 the barge and so passed forthe/ his happye spede was suche that
 he arryved at Gravesend w^tin littill more than iij^{re} howers/
 15 where he taried no lenger than his post horssis ware providyd
 And travellyng so spedely w^t post horssys that he came to Dover
 the next mornyng erely where as the passengers ware redy vnder
 sayle displayed to sayle to Calice/ In to w^{che} passenger w^tout any
 ferther aboode he entred and sayeled forthe w^t them that he
 20 arryved at Calice w^tin iij^{re} howers & havyng there post horsis in
 a redynes departyd Incontynent makyng suche hasty spede that
 he was that nyght w^t the Emprour/ who hauyng vnderstandyng
 of the Commyng of the kynges of Englonde Ambassitor wold
 in no wyse deferre the tyme but sent incontynent for hyme (his
 25 affeccion vnto kyng herry the vijth was suche that he reioysed
 whan he had an occasion to showe hyme pleasure) The
 ambassitor hauyng opportunyte disclosed the Somme of his
 ambassett vnto the Emprour/ of whome he desired spedy
 expedycion/ the w^{che} was grauntyd So that the next day he was
 30 clearely dispeched w^t all the kynges requestes fully accom-
 plished/ at w^{che} tyme he made no further taryauce but w^t post
 horsis rood incontynent that nyght toward Calice agayn/
 conducted thether w^t suche number of horsmen as themprour
 had appoynted and at the opynyng of the Gattes there [f. 7v]
 35 where the passengers ware as redy to retourne into Englonde as
 they ware byfore in his avauncyng in so myche that he arryved

9 to *canc. before* toke; toke *interl.*

15 horsyse *canc. before* horssis

30 dis *canc. before* accomplished

32-33 agayn/ conducted] *MS. agayn/*

(conducted

36 avauncyng] *MS. avauauncyng; he interl.*

at Dover by fore x^{en} of cloke byfore none/ And hauyng post
 horsis in a redynes came to the Court at Richemond that nyght
 where he takyng his rest for that tyme vntill the mornynge/ at
 w^{che} tyme after he was redy repayred to the kyng at his first
 commyng owt of his graces bedchamber toward his closett to here 5
 masse/ Whome whan he sawe chekked hym for that he was not
 past on hys Iourney/ Sir q^d he if it may stand w^t yo^r highnes
 pleasure I haue all redy byn w^t themprour And dispeched yo^r
 affayers (I trust) to yo^r graces contentacione/ And w^t that
 delyuerd vnto the kyng themprours letters of credence/ The 10
 kyng beyng in a great confuse & wonder of his hasty spede/ w^t
 redy furnytur of all hys procedynges/ Dissymbled all his
 Imagynacion & wonder in that matter And demaundyng of hym
 whether he encountered w^t his purseuaunt the w^{che} he sent vnto
 hym (supposyng hym not to be skantly owt of london) w^t 15
 letters concernyng a very necessary cause neclected in his com-
 myssion & Instruccions/ the w^{che} the kyng Coueted myche to be
 sped/ yes forsothe sir/ q^d he/ I encounterd hym yester day by
 the way/ And hauyng vnderstandyng by yo^r graces letters of
 yo^r pleasure therin/ haue not w^tstandyng byn so bold vppon myn 20
 owen discrecion (perceyveyng that matter to be very necessarye
 in that behalf) to dispeche the same/ And for as myche as I haue
 excedyd yo^r graces commyssion I most humbly requyer yo^r
 gracious remysion & pardon/ The kyng Reioysyng inwardly
 not a littill sayd agayn/ we do not oonly pardon you therof but 25
 also geve you our pryncely thanks bothe for the procedyng
 therin and also for yo^r good spedy exployt/ commaundyng hym
 for that tyme to take hys rest and to repayer agayn after dyner for
 the ferther relacion of his ambassett/

[f. 8] The kyng than went to masse/ And after at conveyent tyme 30
 he went to dynner/ it is not to be doughted but that this
 ambassitor hathe byn synce hys retourne w^t his great ffrendes
 the bysshope of wynchester And sir Thomas lovell to whome he
 hathe declared theeffect of all his spedy progresse/ Nor yet what
 Ioy they conceyved therof/ And after his departure frome the 35
 kyng in the mornynge his highnes sent for the bysshope and sir

4 he was *canc. before* he 11 his *interl.* 16 in *canc. before* in
 18 *sped/yes*] *MS. sped* yes 27 *spedy* *canc. before* *spedy* 31 *dyner*
interl. and *canc. before* went; to dynner *interl.*

Thomas lovell to whome he declared the wonderfull expedition
of his ambassitor commendyng therw^t his excellent wytt/ and in
especyall the Invencion and avauncyng of the matter left owt of
hys commysion and Instruccions/ the kynges wordes reioysed
5 thes worthy counsellours not a littill/ ffor as myche as he was of
ther preferment///

Than whan/ this ambassitor remembred the kynges Com-
maundeme^t and sawe the tyme drawe fast on of his repayer
before the kyng and his counsell/ prepared hyme in a redynes
10 and resorted vnto the place assigned by the kyng/ to declare his
ambassett/ w^tout all dowght he reported theeffect of all his
affayers and procedynges so exactly w^t suche gravitie and
eloquence/ that all the Councell that hard hyme cowld do no
lesse but commend hyme estemyng his expedition to be
15 allmost by yond the Capacitie of man/ the kyng of his mere
mocion and gracious concideracion gave hyme at that tyme for
his diligent & faythfull seruyce the Deanry of lyncolne w^{che} at
that tyme was oon of the worthiest Spertyuall promocions that
he gave vnder the degree/ [f. 8^v] of a bysshoperyke and thus
20 frome thence forward he grewe more & more in to estimacion
And auctorytie and after promoted by the kyng to be his
almener/ **Here may** all men/ note the chaunces of ffortune/
that folowyth/ some/ whome she lystithe to promote/ And evyn
so to Somme hyr fauour is contrary thoughte they shold travell
25 neuer so myche w^t vrgent diligence/ & paynfull studye that they
could device or Imagyn/ wherof for my part I haue tasted of
thexperience **Nowe ye** shall vnderstand that all this tale that I
haue declared of his good expedition in the kynges Ambassett/
I receyved it of his owen mowthe and report/ after his ffall lyeng
30 at that tyme in the great parke of Richemond I beyng than there
attendyng vppon hyme takyng an occasion vppon dyuers
commynycacions to tell me this Iourney w^t all the Circum-
staunce as I haue here byfore rehersed///

Whan deathe that favoryth non Estate kyng or Cayser, had
35 taken that prudent prynce kyng herre the vijth owt of this
present lyfe (on whos sowle Iesu haue mercy) who for his

3 of *canc.* before and
16 that *canc.* before that
paynfull; that *interl.*

5 he *interl.* and *canc.* after myche; he *interl.*
18 was *interl.*
36 sowle *interl.*

25 est *canc.* after

inestymable wysdome was noted and called in euery Cristian
Region the Second Salomon what practysis, Inuencions, and
compasis ware than vsed abought that yong Prynce kyng herre
the viijth his oonly Sonne/ And the great provicion made for the
ffuneralles of theon/ And the costly devisis for the Coronacions 5
of thother w^t that vertuous Quene katheren than the kynges
wyfe newly maried/ I Omyt and leave the circumstaunce therof
to historygraffers of Cronycles of prynces/ the w^{che} is no part
myn entendement// After all thes Solempnytes and Costly
tryhumphes fynessed/ And that our naturall yong, lusty, And 10
Coragious prynce/ And [f. 9] souerayn lord kyng herre the viijth
entreng in to the flower of pleasaunt youthe had taken vppon
hyme the Regall Septour and themperyall Dyademe of this
fertill and plentifull Realme of England/ w^{che} at that tyme
florysshed in all aboundaunce of welthe & Riches/ wherof he 15
was inestymably garnysshid & furnyshed/ called than the
golden world/ suche grace of plenty Raygned than w^t in this
Realme

Nowe lett vs retorne agayn vnto the Almsyner (of whome I
haue taken vppon me to wright) whos hed was full of subtyll 20
wytt and pollecy/ perceyving a playn pathe to walke in towards
promocion handelled hym self so politykly that he found the
means to be oon of the kynges Councell and to growe in good
estymacion & favour w^t the kyng to whome the kyng gave an
howsse at Bridwell in fflet strett sometyme sir Richard Emsons 25
where he kepte howsse for his ffamily/ And he dayly attendyd
vppon the kyng in the Court beyng in his especyall grace &
fauour/ who had than great sewte made vnto hym as Coun-
cellours most comenly haue that be in fauour/ his Sentences and
wytty perswasions in the Councell chamber was allwayes so 30
pithye that they allwayes as occasion moved them/ assigned hym
for his filed tong and ornat eloquence to be ther expositer vnto
the kynges ma^{tie} in all ther procedynges/ In whome the kyng
conceyved suche a lovyng fantzy/ especyally for that he was
most earnest and Redyest among all the Councell to avaunce 35

15 & interl.; t *canc.* before he 16 had *canc.* before was;
the *canc.* before the 21 in interl. 24 gave interl. 27 grace
& interl. 31 t *canc.* before hym; hym] y written over e 32 tong
canc. before tong 33 procedynges / In] MS. procedynges In

the kynges oonly wyll & pleasure w^tout any respect to the Case/
 The kyng therfore perceyved hyme to be a mete Instrum^t for
 the accomplyssheme^t of his devysed wyll & pleasure called
 hyme more nere vnto hyme and estemed hyme so highly that
 5 his estymacion and fauour put all other auncyent counsellours
 owt of ther accustomed fauour that they ware in byfore/ In so
 myche as the kyng commytted all his [f. 9^v] wyll & pleasure vnto
 his disposicion and order/ who wrought so all his matters that
 all his endeavour was oonly to satisfie the kynges mynd/ knowyng
 10 rightwell that it was the very vayn and right Cours to bryng
 hyme to highe promocion/ The kyng was yong and lusty,
 disposed all to myrthe & pleasure and to followe his desier &
 appetyte no thyng myndyng to travell in the busy affayers of
 this Realme/ the w^{che} the Almosyner perceyved very well/ toke
 15 vppon hyme therfore to disborden the kyng of so waytie a
 charge & troblesome busynes puttyng the kyng in Comfort that
 he shall not nede to spare any tyme of his pleasure for any busynes
 that shold necessary happen in the Councell as long as he beyng
 there hauyng the kynges auctorytic & commaundeme^t doughted
 20 not to se all thynges sufficiently furnysshed & perfected the
 w^{che} wold first make the kyng privye of all suche matters (as
 shold passe thoroughe ther handes) byfore he wold procede to
 the fynyssheng or determynyng of the same/ whos mynd &
 pleasure/ he wold fullfyll & folowe to the vttermost wherw^t the
 25 kyng was wonderly pleased/ And where as thother Auncyent
 Counsellours wold (accordyng to the office of good Councillers)
 dyuers tymes perswade the kyng to haue sometyme an enter-
 cours in to the Councell/ there to here what was don in waytie
 matters the w^{che} pleased the kyng no thyng at all for he loved no
 30 thyng worse than to be constrayned to do any thyng contrary
 to his Royall wyll & pleasure/ And that knewe the Almosyner
 very well hauyng a secrett Intellygence of the kynges naturall
 Inclynacion/ And so fast as thother Councillers advised the
 kyng to leave hys pleasure/ and to attend to the affayers of his
 35 Realme/ So busylie did the Almosyner perswade hyme to the
 Contrary w^{che} delyghted hyme myche and caused hyme to haue

3 his *and* & *interl.*4 more *interl.*16 kyng *interl.*21 & *canc.*

after kyng

24 he wold *canc.* before fullfyll26 wold] *MS.*

(wold

30 than *interl.*34 take *canc.* before leave; the *canc.* before hys

the greater affection and love to the Almosyner/ Thus the
 Almosyner rewled all them that byfore rewled hym/ suche did
 his pollecy and wytt bryng to passe/ **Who was** now [f. 10] in
 highe favoure but m^r Almosyner/ who had all the Sewte but m^r
 Almosyner And who ruled all vnder the kyng but m^r Almosyner/ 5
 Thus he perceuered still in fauour/ at last in came presentes,
 gyftes, and rewardes so plentifully that (I dare sey) he lacked no
 thyng that myght other please his fantzy or enriche his Coffers/
 ffortune smyled so vppon hym/ but to what end she brought
 hym/ ye shall here after/ Therefore lett all men to whome 10
 ffortune extendy the hir grace not to trust to myche to hir fykyll
 fauor and plesaunt promysys vnder Colour wherof she Cariethe
 venemous galle/ ffor whan she seyth hir seruaunt in most
 highest Auctorytie And that he assuryth hym self most
 assuredly in hir fauour/ than tourny the she hir visage And 15
 plesaunt countenance vnto a frowning chere And vtterly
 forsakyth hym/ suche assuraunce is in hir inconstaunt fauour
 and Sewgerd promyse/ whos disseytfull behauour hathe not byn
 hyd among the wyse sort of famous Clarkes that hathe exclamed
 hir And written vehemently ayenst hir dissymulacion and 20
 fayned fauour warnyng all men therby the lesse to regard hir/
 And to haue hir in small estymacion of any trust or ffaythfulnes/
Thys/ Almosyner/ clymmyng thus hastely vppe fortunes whele
 that no man was of that estymacion w^t the kyng as he was for his
 Wysdome And other witty qualites/ he hade a specyall gyft of 25
 naturall eloquence w^t a fyled tong to pronounce the same that he
 was able w^t the same to perswade/ And allure all men to his
 purpose/ **Procedyng** thus in ffortunes blysfulnes/ Yt chaunced
 that the warres bytween the Realmes of Englonde & ffrance to be
 opyn but vppon what occasion I knowe not/ In so myche as the 30
 kyng beyng fully perswaded and resolued in his most Royall
 person to envade his forrayn ennemyes [f. 10^v] w^t a peusaunt
 Army to delay ther hault bragges w^t in ther owen terretory
 Wherefore it was thought very necessary that this Royall enter-
 price shold be spedely provyded and plentifully ffurnysshed in 35

4 Als *canc. before* Almosyner

6 *perceuered canc. before* perceuered

11 *grace canc. before* grace

14 *f canc. before* Auctorytie

16 *counte-*

nance canc. before countenance

17 *in constancie in hir* *canc. before* in

26 *the* *canc. before* he

28 *in interl.*

30 *what interl.*

euery degree of thynges apte and conveyent for the same/
 Thexpedycion wherof the kynges highnes thought no oon mans
 wytt so mete for pollecy and paynfull travayll as his welbeloved
 Almosyner was/ To whome therefore he commytted his hole
 5 affiaunce and trust ther in/ And he beyng no thyng Scripulous
 in any thyng that the kyng would commaund hym to do/ and
 althoughe it semyd to other very deficyll/ yet toke he vppon
 hym the hole charge & bourden of all this busynes/ And
 procedyd so ther in that he brought all thynges to a good passe
 10 & purpose in a right decent order as of all maner of victualles,
 provisions, and other necessaryes conveyent for so nobyll a
 voyage & pieusaunt Armye/

All thynges beyng by hym perfected and furnessed/ The kyng
 not myndyng to delay or neclecte the tyme appoynted/ but w^t
 15 noble and valyaunt Corage avaunced to his Royall enterpryce/
 passed the sees bytween Douer and Calice/ where he prosper-
 ously arryved and after some abode there of his grace as well
 for the arryvall of his pieusaunt Army Royall, provision and
 Munycions/ as to consult abought his pryncely affayers/
 20 Marched forward in good order of battayll thorowghe the lowe
 Contrie vntill he came to the strong towen of Teurwyn/ to the
 w^{che} he layed his assault/ and assaylled it so fercely w^t contynuall
 assultes that wⁱⁿ short space/ he caused them w^t in to yeld the
 towen/ Vnto w^{che} place the Emprour Maximilian repayred vnto
 25 the king our Souerayn lord/ w^t a pieusaunt army lyke a myghty
 & frendly prynce/ takyng of the kyng his graces wages as well
 for his owen person as for his retynewe/ The w^{che} ys a rare thyng
 seldome seen, hard, or red that an Emprour to [f. 11] take wages
 and to fight vnder a kynges banner/ Thus after the kyng had
 30 opteyned the possession of this pieusaunt fort and sett all
 thynges in dewe order for the defence & preseruacion of the
 same to his highnes vse/ he departed frome thence and marched
 toward the Citie of Tourney and there agayn layed his sege/ to
 the w^{che} he gave so ferce and sharpe assaultes that they w^t in

2 oon interl. 4 Th *canc.* before To 15-16 enterpryce/ passed] *MS.*
 enterpryce passed 18 provision] *MS.* provision 19 as *canc.*
 before as 22 that *canc.* before w^t 25 whos wages *canc.* before w^t;
 a interl. before pieusaunt 31 of *canc.* after defence 34 they] y
 written over r

ware constrayned of fynforce to yeld vppe the 'T'own vnto his
 victoryous maiestie/ At w^{che} tyme he gave the Almosyner the
 bysshopryke of the same see/ for some part of recommpence of
 his paynnes susteyned in that Iourney/ And whan the kyng had
 establiysshed all thynges there aggreate to his pryncely pleasure/ 5
 And furnysshed the same w^t noble valyaunt Capteynnes and
 men of warre for the savegard of the town ayenst his ennemyes/
 he retourned agayn in to Englund taking w^t hyme dyuers worthy
 prisoners of the peeres of fraunce As the Duke of longvyle/ the
 Countie Clermound and dyuers other taken there in asskyr- 10
 mouche most victoryously/ After whos retourne Immedyatly
 the See of lyncolne fyll voyde by the dethe of Doctour Smythe
 late bysshope of that dignytie/ the w^{che} Benefice & promocion
 his grace gave vnto his Almosyner/ bysshope elect of Tournay/
 Who was not neclygent to take possession therof And made all the 15
 spede he cowlde for his consecracion/ the Solempnyzacion wherof
 endyd he found the means to gett the possession of all his pre-
 diccessors gooddes in to his handes wherof I haue seen dyuers
 tymes some part therof furnyshe his howsse/ Yt was not long after
 that Doctor Baynbryge/ Archebysshope of yorke dyed at Roome 20
 beyng ther the kynges ambassitor vnto pope Iulius/ vnto w^{che}
 benyface the kyng presented his newe bysshope of lyncolne So
 that he had iij^{re} bysshoprykes in oon yere geuyn hyme/ [f. 11^v]
Than prepared he agayn of newe As fast for his translacion
 from the See of lyncolne vnto the see of yorke/ After w^{che} 25
 Solempnyzacion don and he beyng in possession of the Arche-
 bisshoprike of yorke/ And/ primas Anglie/ thought hyme
 sufficient to compare w^t Caunterburye/ And there vppon erected
 his crosse in the Court and in euery other place as well in the
 presence of the bysshope of Caunterbury and in the precyncte of 30
 his Iurysdiccon as elles where/ And for as myche as Caunterbury
 claymyth superyorytie & obedyence of yorke as he dothe of all
 other bysshoppes wⁱⁿ this realme/ for as myche as he is primas
 tocius anglie/ And therefore claymyth as a tokyn of an Auncient

2 he interl. 4 Iourney/ And] MS. Iourney And 12 dethe of
 interl. 18 haue interl. 19 ther of interl. 20 to canc. before
 dyed 21 the canc. before pope 26 possion canc. before possession
 30 presence canc. before presence; the bysshope of interl. 31 where/
 And] MS. where And

obedyence of yorke to abate the avauncyng of hys crosse in the
 presence of the Crosse of Caunterbury Notw^tstandyng yorke
 no thyng myndyng to desist frome beryng of his crosse in maner
 as is seyde before/ Caused his Crosse to be auauaced and borne
 5 hyfore hym/ as well in the presence of Caunterbury as elles
 where/ Wherefore Caunterbure beyng moved therw^t gave yorke
 a certyn cheke for his presumcyon/ by reason wherof there
 engendred some grudge bytween Caunterburye & yorke/ And
 yorke perceyving the obedyence that Caunterbury claymed to
 10 haue of yorke entendyd to provyde some suche means that he
 wold rather be superiour in dignytie to Caunterbury than to be
 other obedient or equall to hyme/ Wherefore he opteyned first to
 be made preest Cardynall and legatus de latere vnto whome the
 Pope sent a Cardynalles hatt w^t certyn bulles for his auctorytie
 15 in that behalf/ **Yet by** the way of Commynycacion/ ye shall
 vnderstand that the Pope sent this hatt as a worthy Ioyell of his
 honor, dygnitie, and auctorytie the w^{che} was conveyed hether in
 a verlettes bugett/ who semyd to all men to be but a person of
 small estymacion/ Whereof yorke beyng aduertised of the bassnes
 20 of the messanger and of the peoples oppynyon and rumor/
 thought it for his honour/ mete/ that so highe a Ioyell shold not
 be conveyed by so symple a messenger/ Wherefore he caused
 hymc to be stayed by the way Immedyaty after his arryvall in
 Englund/ where he was newly furnysshed [f. 12] in all maner
 25 of apparell w^t all kynd of costly sylkes w^{che} semyd decent for
 suche an highe ambassitor/ And that don he was encountred
 vppon blakhethe And there receyved w^t a great assemble of
 prelattes & lusty gallaunt gentilmen/ And frome thence con-
 ducted and conveyed thoroughe london w^t great tryhumphe/
 30 Than was great and spedy provision & preparacion made in
 Westminster Abbey for the confirmacion of his highe dignytie/
 the w^{che} was executed by all the bisshopes and Abbottes nyghe or
 abouth london in riche myters And Coopes and other costly
 ornamentes/ w^{che} was don in so solompne a wyse as I haue not
 35 seen the lyke oonless it had byn at the coronacion of a myghti
 prynce or kyng///

16 as a *interl.*
 humphe Than

23 be *interl.*
 30 great *canc. before* great

29-30 tryhumphe/ Than] *MS. try-*
 32 the *canc. after* by

Opptaynyng/ thys/ dygnyte/ thought hyme self mete to
 encounter w^t Caunterbury in his highe Iurysdiccion byfore
 expressed And that also he was as mete to beare auctoryte
 among the temporall powers as a mong the spertyuall Iuris-
 diccions wherfore remembryng/ as well the tauntes & chekkes 5
 byfore susteyned of Caunterbury (w^{che} he entendyd to redresse)
 hauyng a respecte to the auaunceme^t of worldly honour,
 promocion, And great benefites/ ffound the means w^t the kyng
 that he was made Chauncelour of Englund/ And Caunterbury
 therof dismyssed/ who had contynued in that honorable rome 10
 and office synce long byfore the deathe of kyng herry the vijth/
 Nowe he beyng in possession of the Chauncellourshipe
 endowed w^t the promocion of an archebyssshop and Cardynall/
 legatte allso de latere/ thought hyme self fully furnysshed w^t
 suche auctoryties And dygnyties that he was able to surmount 15
 Caunterbury in all ecclesiasticall Iurysdiccions hauyng power
 to convocatt Caunterbury and other byssshopes wⁱⁿ his provynce
 to assemble at his convocacion in any place w^t in this realme
 where he wold assigne/ takyng vpon hyme the Coreccion of
 all matters in euery [f. 12^v] Dyoces hauyng there thorough all 20
 the realme all maner of spertyuall mynysters As commyssaryes,
 Scribbes, Apparitours, And all other officers to furnysshe his
 Courtes/ visited also all sprituall howsis/ and presentyd by
 prevencion whome he listed to ther benyfices/ And to the
 avauncyng of hys legantyn honour & Iurisdiccion he had 25
 maysters of his ffaculties/ and maysters Cerimoniarum and
 suche other lyke officers to the gloryfieng of his dygnyte/ Than
 hade he ij great Crossis of Syluer where of oon of them was for
 his archebyssshopriche/ And the other for his legacye/ borne
 alwayes byfore hyme whether so euer he went or rode/ by ij of 30
 the most tallest and comlyest prestes that he cowlde gett wⁱⁿ all
 this realme/ And to thencreas of his gaynnes he had also the
 byssshopryche of Duresme And the Abbey of seynt Albons in
 Commendam/ howbeit after whan byssshope ffoxe of wyncester

1 hyme *interl.* 6 by *canc.* after susteyned; of *interl.* 17 provynce]
 ce written over s 18 in *interl.* and *canc.* after w^t; h *canc.* before
 in this 20-21 all the *interl.* 23 all *canc.* before all; pre *canc.*
 before by 27 dygnyte/ Than] MS. dygnyte Than 31 tallest *canc.*
 before tallest; persons *canc.* before prestes 32 he had *canc.* before the

dyed he Surrendred Duresme in to the kynges handes/ and in
 lieu therof toke the bysshopriche of wynchester/ Than he had
 also as it ware in ferme/ bothe bathe, & worcester and hereford
 bycause thencombentes therof ware Strayngers borne owt of
 5 thys realme contynuyng allwayes be yond the sees in ther owen
 natife Contries or elles at Rome frome whence they ware sent
 by the pope in legacion in to Englonde to the kyng And for ther
 reward at ther departure the prudent kyng herre the vijth
 thought it better to reward them w^t that thyng he hyme self
 10 could not kepe than to defray or disburse any thyng of his
 treasure/ And than they beyng but Strayngers thought it more
 mete for ther assuraunce And to haue ther Iurisdiccions conserued
 and Iustly vsed to permyt the Cardynall to haue ther benyfices
 for a conveyent yerely Somme of mony to be payed them by
 15 eschaunce in ther Contries/ than to be trobled or burdened w^t
 the conveyaunce therof vnto them/ So that all ther sperytuall
 promocyons and Iurysdiccions of ther bysshopperiches ware
 clearly in his demayns & disposicion to preferre or promote
 whome he listed vnto them/ he hade also a great number dayly
 20 attendyng vppon hyme bothe of noble men and worthy [f. 13]
 gentilmen of great estymacion and possessions w^t no small
 number of the tallest yomen that he Could gett in all this
 Realme/ In so myche that well was that noble man or
 gentilman that myght preferre any tall & comly yoman vnto his
 25 seruyce/

Nowe to speke of the order of his howsse & officers/ I thynke
 it necessarie heare to be remembred/ ffirist ye shall vnderstand
 that he had in his hall dayly iij^{re} especyall tables furnessed w^t
 iij^{re} pryncypall officers that is to sey A Steward/ w^{che} was
 30 allwayes a Docter or a preste/ A Treasurer a knyght/ A Con-
 troller a esquier/ w^{che} bare allwayes wⁱⁿ his house ther whight
 Staves/ Than hade he a Cofferer/ iij^{re} Marshalles/ ij yomen
 Vsshers/ ij Gromes and an Almosyner/ he hade also in the hall
 kytchen ij Clarkes of his kytchen/ A Clarke Controller/ A
 35 surveyour of the Dressor/ A Clarke of his Spicery/ Also there in

1 surrendred *canc. after he*2 had *interl.*3 & *canc. after*bathe, 7 b *canc. before in legacion*10 disburse *canc. before*disburse 14 them *interl.*18 creal *canc. before* clearly

23 or]

written over &

32 Marshalles/ ij] *MS. Marshalles ij*

his hall kytchen he hade ij Mr Cookes/ And xijth of other laborers & childern as theye called theme/ A Yoman of his Scollery/ w^t ij other in his syluer Scollery/ ij yomen of his pastery, and ij Groomes/ Nowe in his privy kytchen he had a Mr Cooke who went dayly in Dammaske, Satten or velvett w^t a chayn of 5 gold about his nekke/ And ij Gromes w^t vj laborers & childerne to serue in that place/ In the larder there a yoman and a Grome/ In the Skaldyng howsse a yoman & ij Gromes/ In the Scollery there ij persons/ In the Buttery ij yomen and ij Gromes w^t ij other pages/ In the pantrie ij yomen/ ij Gromes and ij pages/ 10 And in the Ewrie lykewyse/ in the seller ij yomen ij Gromes & ij pages/ besides a gentilman for the monthe/ In the Chaundrye ij persons/ In the wafery ij/ In his Garderobbe of Beddes a m^r and x^{en} other persons/ in the laundry a yoman a Grome and ij pages/ Of purvyours ij and oon Grome/ In the bakhowsse 15 [f. 13^v] a yoman & ij Gromes/ In the woodyerd a yoman & a Grome/ In the Garner j In the Garden a yoman & ij laborers/ Nowe at the Gate he had of porters ij tall yomen and ij Gromes/ a yoman of his Barge// In the Stabyll/ he hade a m^r of his horsses/ A Clarke of the Stable/ A yoman of the same/ A Sadler/ 20 A fferour/ A yoman of his Charyot/ A Sompter man/ A yoman of his Stirrope/ A Mewlytor/ xvj^{en} Gromes of hys stable euery of them kepyng iij^{or} great Geldynges/ In the Almosory a yoman & a Grome//

Nowe wyll I declare to you the Officers of his Chappell and 25 Syngyng men of the same/ ffirst he hade there A Dean who was allwayes a great clarke & a devyn/ A Subdean/ A Repetor of the Quyer/ A Gospeller/ A Pystoler/ And xij Syngyng prestes/ Of seculers he had first a M^r of his childern/ xij syngyng Childerne/ xvj^{en} syngyng men/ a seruau^t to attend vppon the seyde 30 Childerne/ In the revestrie a yoman & ij Gromes/ Than ware there dyuers Reteynours of connyng syngyng men that came at dyuers sondrie pryncypall feastes/ **But to** speke of the ffurnytur of his Chappell/ passithe my Capasitie to declare the number of the costly ornamentes And riche Ioyelles that ware occupied in 35 the same contynually/ I haue seen there in a procession worne

11 lykewyse/ in] *MS.* lykewyse in 15 p *canc. after the* 18 of
porters *interl.* 23 Geldynges/ In] *MS.* Geldynges In 26 men *interl.*
27 a *interl.* before devyn 31 the *interl.* before revestrie

xliij^{ti} Coopes of oon sewte very riche besides the Somptious
 Crossis, Candyllstykes, and other necessary orname^{tes} to the
 comly furnature of the same/ **Nowe** shall ye vnderstand that
 he had ij Crosberers & ij Pillers berers/ And in his chamber/ All
 5 thes persons that is to sey/ his highe Chamberlayn/ his Vice-
 Chamberlayn/ xij Gentilmen vsshers dayly wayters, beside ij
 in his privye Chamber/ And of Gentillmen wayters in his
 privye chamber he had vjth/ And also he had of lordes ix^{en} or
 x^{en}/ who had eche of them allowed ij seruantes/ And the Erle
 10 of Derby had allowed v^e men/ Than had he of gentilmen/ As
 Cupberers/ kervers/ Sewers/ And gentilmen dayley wayters
 xlti persons/ Of yomen vsshers he had vj/ Of Gromes in his
 chamber he had viijth/ Of yomen of his chamber he had xlvj^{ti}
 dayly to attend vppon his person/ he had also a prest there
 15 [f. 14] w^{che} was his Almosyner to attend vppon his tabell/ at
 dynner/ Of doctors & chappens attending in his Closett to sey
 dayly masse byfore hyme/ he had xvj^{en} persons/ A Clarke/ of his
 Closett/ Also he had ij Secretorys/ And ij Clarkes of his signett/
 And iiij^{or} Councillours learned in the lawes of this realme/ And
 20 for as myche as he was Chauncelor of England yt was necessary
 for hyme to haue dyuers Officers of the Chauncery to attend
 dayly vppon hyme for the better ffurnytur of the same/ that is
 to say/ he had a Clarke of the Crowne/ A ridyng Clarke/ A Clarke
 of the hamper/ A Chaffer of waxe/ Than had he A Clarke of the
 25 Chekke as well to chekke his Chappleyns as hys yomen of the
 Chamber/ he had also iiij^{or} footmen w^{che} ware apparelled in
 riche Runnyng Cootes whan so euer he rode any Iourney/ Than
 had he an harrold at Armez/ Also a Seriaunt at Armez/
 A Phisicion/ A Pottecarye/ iiij^{or} Mynstrelles/ A keper of his
 30 Tentes/ An Armorer/ And Instructer of his wardes/ ij yomen in
 his Garderobbes/ And a keper of his Chamber in the Court/ he
 had also dayly in his howsse the Surveyour of yorke/ And a
 Clarke of the Grean clothe/ and an Audytor All this number of

6 ij *canc. before* xij
canc. before gentilmen

before first chamber
before persons

22 aly *canc. before* dayly; dayly *interl.*

30 his *interl.* 31 *first* his *interl.*; Garderobbes]

9 allowed] *MS.* alloweed

12 vj/ Of] *MS.* vj Of

16 Closed *canc. before* Closett

19 of *canc. before* learned

29 Mynstrelles] *MS.* Mynstelles

33 and an Audytor *interl.*

11 gentilma

13 in his *canc.*

17 persons *canc.*

21 for hyme *interl.*

29 Mynstrelles] *MS.* Mynstelles

33 and an Audytor *interl.*

persons ware daylye attendaunt vppon hym in hys howsse,
down lyeng And vppe risyng/ And at meales/ There was con-
tynually in his chamber a bord kept for his Chamberlayns and
gentilmen vsshers/ hauyng w^t theme a messe of the yong lordes
And an other for gentilmen/ besides all this there was neuer an
officer and gentilman or any other worthye person in his howesse 5
but he was allowed some iij some ij seruauntes And all other
(oon) at the least w^{che} amounted to a great number of persons//
Nowe haue I shewed you the order of his howsse/ And what
officers & seruauntes he had accordyng to his Chekker Rolle 10
attendyng dayly vppon hym besides hys reteynors and other
persons beyng Sewters that most Comenly ware fedde in his
hall And whan so euer we shall se any more suche Subiectes
w^tin thys realme that shall maynteyn any suche estat & howshold
I ame content he be auauunced above hym in honour & esty- 15
macion therfore here I make [f. 14^v] an end of his howsshold/
wherof the nomber ware abought the Somme of fyve hundred
parsons accordyng to his chekker rolle//

Yow have hard of the order & Officers of his howsse/ nowe do
I intend to proced forthe vnto other of his procedynges/ ffor 20
after he was thus ffurnysshid in maner as I haue byfore rehersed
vnto you he was twyse sent in Ambassett vnto themprour
Charles the 5 that nowe reygnyth and nowe ffather vnto kyng
Phillipe our Souerayn lord/ for as myche as the old Emprour
Maximilian was deade/ And for dyuers vrgent causys touchyng 25
the kynges ma^{tie} yt was thought good that in so waytie a matter/
And to so noble a prince that the Cardynall was most meate to
be sent on so worthy an Ambassett/ wherfore he beyng redy to
take vppon hym the charge therof/ was ffurnysshed in all
degrees and purposys most lykest A great prynce w^{che} was 30
myche to the highe honour of the kynges ma^{tie} and of this
realme/ ffor first in his procedyng he was furnysshed lyke a
Cardynall of highe estimacion/ hauyng all thyng therto corre-
spondent & agreable/ his gentilmen beyng in number very many
clothed in lyure Coottes of Crymmosyn velvett of the most 35

3 in his chamber *interl.*

10 the *canc.* before his

14 howsheld

canc. after &

16 th *canc.* before therfore

17 wherof *interl.*;

number] *MS.* number of; his persons wherof *canc.* before ware

23 vnto

kyng *canc.* after kyng

32 realme/ ffor] *MS.* realme ffor

purest Colour that myght be Invented/ w^t chaynnes of gold
 about ther nekkes/ And all his yomen And other mean officers
 were in Cottes of ffynne Skarlett garded w^t blake velvett an hand
 brode/ he beyng thus furnysshid in thys maner was twyse sent
 5 vnto themprour in to fflaunders Themprour lyeng than in
 Brugges who entertayned our Ambassitor very highly/ dis-
 chargyng hyme and all his trayn of ther charges/ ffor ther was
 no howsse wⁱⁿ all bruges wherin any gentilman of the lord
 ambassitors lay or had recourse/ but that the owners of the
 10 howses were commaunded by themprours officers that they
 vppon payn of ther lyves shold take no mony for any thyng that
 the Cardynalles seruantes shold take or dispend in victualles/
 ne allthoughe they were disposed to make any costly bankettes/
 fferthermore commaundyng ther seyde hostes to se that they
 15 lakked no suche thynges as they desired or requyred to haue for
 ther pleasures [f. 15] Also themperours Officers euery nyght
 went thoroughe the towen frome howsse to howsse where as any
 Englysshemen lay & resorted/ And there serued lyueres for all
 nyght w^{che} was don after this maner// **ffirste**/ the Emprors
 20 Officers brought in to the howsse a Cast of fynne manchett
 brede/ ij great Siluer pottes w^t wyne and a pound of fynne
 Sewger/ Whight lightes And yelow/ A bolle or goblett of Syluer
 to drynke in And euery nyght a staffe torche/ this was thorder
 of ther lyueres euery nyght/ And than in the mornyng whan the
 25 Officers came to fetch a way ther stuffe than wold they
 Accompte w^t the host for the gentillmens costes spent in that
 nyght & day byfore/ Thus themprerour entertayned the
 Cardynall & all hys trayn for the tyme of his Ambassett there/
 And that don he retourned home agayn in to Englund w^t great
 30 tryhumphe beyng no lesse in estymacion w^t the kyng than he
 was byfore but rather myche more///

Now wyll I declare vnto you his order in goyng to westmynster
 hall dayly in the tearme season/ ffirst byfore hys commyng owt of
 hys pryvy chamber he hard most comenly euery day ij massis
 35 in his pryvy closett/ And there than seyde his dayly seruyce w^t
 his chapleyn (And as I hard his chapleyn say beyng a man of

1 be *interl.*10 *A single indecipherable letter canc. before by**canc. before Ambassett*36 as *canc. before as*

28 amb

credence/ and of excellent learnyng) that the Cardynall what
 busynes or waytie matters so euer he had in the day he neuer
 went to his bed w^t any part of his devyn seruyce onsayd/ yea not
 so myche as oon Collect/ wherein I dought not but he disseyved
 the oppynyon of dyuers persons/ And after masse he wold 5
 retourne in his pryve chameber agayn and beyng aduertised of
 the furnytur of his chambers w^tout w^t noble men and gentil-
 men/ w^t other persons wold issue owt in to theme appparelled
 all in red in the habytt of a Cardynall w^{che} was other of fynne
 skarlett or elles of crymmosyn Satten/ 'Taffeta Dammaske/ or 10
 Caffa/ the best that he could gett for mony/ and vppon hys hed a
 round pyllion w^t a nekke [f. 15^v] of blake velvett set to the same
 in the Inner side/ he had also a tippett of fynne Sables a bought
 his nekke/ holdyng in his hand a very fayer Orrynges wherof the
 mete or substaunce w^t in was taken owt and fylled vppe agayn 15
 w^t the part of a Sponge wherein was vyneger and other con-
 feccions agaynst the pestylente Ayers to the w^{che} he most
 commenly smelt vnto/ passyng among the prease or elles whan
 he was pesterd w^t many Sewters/ There was also borne byfore
 hyme first the great Seale of Englund/ And than his Cardynalles 20
 hatt by a noble man or some worthy Gentilman right Solemply
 barehedyd/ And as Sone as he was entered in to hys chamber of
 presence where was attendyng his Commyng to awayt vppon
 hyme to westminster hall as welle noble men and other worthy
 gentlemen/ as noble men & gentlemen of his owen famely/ thus 25
 passyng forthe w^t ij great Crossis of Syluer borne byfore hyme
 w^t also ij great pillers of syluer/ And his seriaunt at Armez w^t a
 great mase of syluer gylt/ Than his gentlemen vsshers cried and
 sayd/ on my lordes & maysters/ make way for my lordes grace/
 thus passed he down frome his chambers thoroughe the hall/ 30
 And whan he came to the hall doore ther was attendaunt for
 hyme his mewle trapped all to gether in Crymmosyn velvett and
 gylt Stirropes/ whan he was mounted/ w^t his crosse berers/
 and Piller berers also/ vppon great horsis trapped w^t red skarlett

1 of interl.

6 bed *canc. before* pryve; pryve *interl.*

9 habit of

canc. after the

12 set to] *MS.* setto

13 of *canc. before* he

15 of *canc. before* or

17 ayer *canc. after* confeccions; to *interl.*

19 any

canc. before many

22 as he *canc. before* as he

24 as *canc. before*

and; and *interl.*

29 sayd/ on] *MS.* sayd on

33 and *canc.*

before w^t; w^t *interl.*

Than marched he forward w^t his trayn & furnytur in maner as
 I haue declared/ hauyng aboutt hyme iiij^{or} footmen w^t gylt
 pollaxes in ther handes/ And thus he went vntill he came to
 westminster hall doore/ And there lighted and went after this
 5 maner vppe thoroughe the hall in to the Chauncery/ howebeit
 he wold most commynly stay a while at a barre made for hyme
 a littill benethe the chauncery And there Commyn some tyme
 w^t the Iuges and somtyme w^t other persons/ And that don he
 wold repayer in to the Chauncery/ And sittynge there vntill
 10 xj^{en} of the clocke heryng Sewters and determynynge of dyuers
 matters/ And frome thence he wold dyuers tymes goo in to the
 sterrechamber as occasion dyd serue/ where he spared nother
 highe nor lowe but Iuged euery estate accordyng to ther
 merites and desertes/ he vsed euery Sonday to repayer to the
 15 Court beyng than for the [f. 16] most part at Grenwyche in the
 terme/ w^t all his former order takyng his barge at his pryvy
 stayers furnyished w^t tall yomen standyng vppon the baylles
 And all gentilmen beyng wⁱⁿ w^t hyme/ And loded at the
 Crane in the vyntrie And frome thence he rode vppon hys mule
 20 w^t his Crossis/ his pillars/ his hatt/ And the great Seale,
 thoroughe temmes strette vntill he came to Byllyngesgate or
 there abouttes And there toke his barge agayn and rowed to
 Grenwyche/ where he was noblylly receyved of the lordes and
 cheafe officers of the kynges howsse/ As the Treasurer and
 25 Controllers w^t other and conveyed vnto the kynges Chamber/
 his Crosses commonly standyng (for the tyme of hys aboode in
 the Court) on the oon syde of the kynges clothe of estate/ he
 beyng thus in the Court/ yt was wonderly furnyssshed w^t noble
 men and gentilmen myche otherwyse than it was byfore hys
 30 commyng/ And after Dynner among the lordes hauyng some
 consultacion w^t the kyng or w^t the counsell he wold departe
 homeward w^t lyke sorte/ And thys order he vsed contynually as
 opportunitie dyd serue//

Thus in greate honour/ tryhumphe & glorie he raygned a long
 35 season Rewlyng all thyng w^t in thys Realme appurteynynge vnto

2 hyme *interl.*

3 on *canc.* before went; went *interl.*

6 at *canc.*

after stay; made *interl.*

11 tymes *interl.*

18 hy *canc.*

before w^t

26 of *interl.*

30 the *canc.* after among; the *interl.*

before lordes

the kyng by his wysdome/ And also all other waytie matters of
fforrayn Regions w^t whome the kyng & this Realme had any
occasion to entermeddell/ All Ambassitors of fforrayn potentates
ware allway dispeched by hys discession/ to whome they had
allwayes accesse for ther dispeche/ his howsse was also allwayes 5
resorted and furnesshed w^t noble men/ gentilmen, & other
persons w^t goyng & commyng in and owt/ feastyng & bankatyng
all Ambassitors dyuers tymes and other Strayngers right nobly/
And whan it pleased the kynges ma^{tie} for his recreacion to
repayer vnto the Cardynalles howsse (as he dyd dyuers tymes 10
in the yere) at w^{che} tyme there wanted no preparacions or
goodly furnytüre w^t vyaundes of the fynnest Sort that myght be
provided for mony or frendshippe/ Suche pleasures ware than
devisyd for the kynges comfort & consolacion as myght be
Invented or by mans wytt Imagyned/ the bankettes ware sett 15
forthe w^t [f. 16^v] Maskes and Mummerreys in so gorges a sort
and Costly maner that it was an hevyn to behold/ ther wanted
no dames or damselles meate or apte to daunce w^t the maskers
or to garnysshe the place for the tyme/ w^t other goodly disportes/
than was there all kynd of musyke and armonye setforthe w^t 20
excellent voyces bothe of men and Childerne/ **I haue** seen the
kyng sodenly come in thether in a maske w^t a dosyn of other
maskars all in garmentes lyke Shepherdes made of fynne
Clothe of gold and fyn Crymosyn Satten paned and Cappes
of the same w^t visors of good proporcion of visonamy, ther 25
heares & beardes other of fynne gold wyers or elles of syluer/
And Some beyng of blake sylke/ havyng xvj^{en} torches berers
besides Dromes And other persons attendyng vppon them w^t
visors & clothed ail in Satten of the same Colours/ and at his
commyng & byfore he came in to the hall ye shall vnderstand 30
that he came by water to the water gate w^tout any noys where
ayenst his commyng was layed charged many chambers/ At whos
londyng they ware all Shot of w^{che} made suche a Romble in the
Ayer that it was lyke thonder it made all the noble men ladys
& gentilwomen to muse what it shold mean commyng so 35
sodenly they syttyng quyotly at a solempne bankett vnder this

8 straynger *canc. before* Strayngers
interl.

33 a *interl.*

16 sort *canc. before* sort
36 solempne *interl.*

22 of

sort/ ffirst ye shall perceyve that the tables ware sett in the
 Chamber of presence/ Bankett wyse couered/ my lord Cardynall
 syttyng vnder the clothe of estat/ And there hauyng all his
 seruyce all alone/ And than was there sett a lady and an noble
 5 man or a gentilman and a gentilwoman thorougheowt all the
 tables in the Chamber on the oon syde w^{che} was made & Ioyned
 as it ware but oon table/ All w^{che} order & device was don and
 devysed by the lord Sandes lord Chamberlayn w^t the kyng/ And
 also by sir herry Gwyldford controller w^t the kyng/ 'Than
 10 Immedyatly after this great shott of Gonnes/ the Cardynall
 desired the seyd lord Chamberleyn & Controller to loke what
 this soden shot shold mean (As thoughe he knewe no thyng of
 the matter) They thervppon lokyng owt of the wyndowe in to
 'Temmes retorned agayn & shewed hym that it Semed to them
 15 that there shold be some noble men & strayngers arryved at his
 brygge As Ambassitors frome some fforrayn prynce/ W^t that q^d
 the Cardynall/ I shall desier you bycause ye can speke ffrenche
 to take the paynnes to goo down in to the hall to encounter and
 to receyve them accordyng to [f. 17] ther estates And to con-
 20 ducte them in to thys Chamber/ where they shall se vs and all
 thes noble personages syttyng merely at our Bankett desyryng
 them to sitt down w^t vs and to take part of our fare & pastyme/
 They went incontynent down in to the hall/ where they receyved
 them w^t xx^{ti} newe torches And conveyed theme vppe in to the
 25 Chamber w^t suche a number of Dromes and fyves as I haue
 seldome seen together at oon tyme in any Maske/ At ther
 arryvall in to the chamber ij & ij together they went directly
 byfore the Cardynall where he satt/ Salutynge hym very
 reuerently to whome the lord Chamberlayn (for them) sayd/
 30 Syr for as myche as they be strayngers And can speke no
 Englysshe thay haue desired me to declare vnto yo^r grace thus/
 They havynge vnderstandyng of thys yo^r tryhumphant bankett
 where was assembled suche number of excellent fayer dames/
 cowlde do no lesse vnder the supportacion of yo^r grace but to

5 a *interl.* after or 9 also *interl.*; also *canc.* before w^t 15 they
canc. before there; there and some *interl.* 16 ambassitours *canc.* after As
 17 speke can fienche *canc.* after ye with can *interl.* 18 them *canc.* before
 and 19 to ther] MS. to/ ther 20 a single indecipherable letter *canc.*
 before in 24 theme *interl.* 27 to the *canc.* before together; they
interl. 31 thay *interl.* 31-32 Th *canc.* before / They; /They] MS. They

repayer hether to vewe as well ther incomperable beawtie as for
to accompany them at Mume chaunce And than After to daunce
w^t them/ And so to haue of them acquayntaunce And sir they
furthermore requyer of yo^r grace lycence to accomplesshe the
cause of ther repayer/ to whome the Cardynall answered that 5
he was very well contentyd they shold so do/ Then the Maskars
went first and saluted all the Dames as they sat and than
retorned to the most worthiest and there opyned a Cuppe full
of gold w^t Crowns & other peces of coyn to whome they sett
dyuers peces to cast at/ thus in this maner perving all the 10
ladys & gentilwomen/ And to some they lost And of some they
won/ And this don they retourned vnto the Cardynall w^t great
reuerence poryng down all the Crownes in the Cuppe w^{che} was
about ij^c Crownes/ at all q^d the Cardynall and so cast the
dyse And wane them all at a Cast/ where at was great Ioy made/ 15
Than q^d the Cardynall to my lord Chamberlayn/ I pray you q^d
he shewe them that it semys me howe there shold be among
theme some noble man/ whome I suppose to be myche more
worthy of honor to sitt and occupie this rome & place than I/ to
whome I wold most gladly [f. 17^v] (yf I knewe hyme) surrender 20
my place accordyng to my dewtie/ than spake my lord Chamber-
layn vnto them in ffrenche declaryng my lorde cardynalles
mynd And they Roundyng hyme agayn in the eare/ my lord
Chamberlayn seyde to my lord Cardynall/ Sir they confesse q^d
he that among them there is suche a noble personage/ Among 25
whome if yo^r grace can appoynt hyme frome the other he is
contented to discloos hyme self And to accepte yo^r place most
worthely/ w^t that the Cardynall takyng a good adysem^t among
them/ at the last/ q^d he/ me Semys the gentelman w^t the blake
beard shold be evyn he/ And w^t that he arose owt of hys 30
chayer and offered the same to the gentelman in the blake beard
(w^t his Cappe in his hand) The person to whome he offered than
his Chayer/ was sir Edward Neveyll A comly knyght of a
goodly personage that myche more resembled the kynges person
in that Maske than any other/ The kyng heryng & perceyvyng 35

2 them *interl.*

12 this] *MS.* thus

17 that *canc.* before howe;

howe *interl.*
than

19 and] *MS.* an

21 dewtie/ than] *MS.* dewtie

22 frenche *canc.* before ffrenche

23 eare *canc.* after the

28 ad *canc.* before among

the Cardynall so disseyved in his estymacion and choys cowlde
 not forbear lawyng/ but plucked down his visare & m^r Neveylles
 & dasht owt w^t suche a pleasaunt Countenaunce & cheare/ that
 all noble estates there assembled seyng the kyng to be there
 5 amoong them reioysed very myche/ the Cardynall eftsons
 desired hys highnes to take the place of estate/ to whome the
 kyng answered that he wold goo first & shyfte hys apparell and
 so departed/ and went strait to my lordes bed Chamber where
 was a great fier made & prepared for hyme/ And there newe
 10 apparelled hyme w^t riche & pryncely garmentes/ And in the
 tyme of the kynges absence/ the disshes of the bankett ware
 clean taken vppe and the table spred agayn w^t newe & swett
 perfumed clothes euery man syttyng still vntill the kyng & his
 maskers came in among theme agayn euery man beyng newly
 15 apparelled/ Than the kyng toke his seate vnder the clothe of
 estate comaundyng no man to remove but sit still as they dyd
 byfore/ Than/ In came a newe bankett byfore the kynges ma^{tie}
 and to all the rest thorough the tables/ wherin I suppose was
 serued ij^{cc} disshes or above of wonderouse costly meates &
 20 devysys subtilly devysed/ thus passed [f. 18] they fforthe the
 hole nyght w^t banketyng, dauncyng & other tryhumphant
 devyses to the great comfort of the kyng and plesaunt regard of
 the nobylitie there assembled// All this matter I haue declared
 at large bycause ye shall vnderstand what Ioy & delight the
 25 Cardynall had to se his prynce and souerayn lord in his howsse
 so nobley entertayned and pleased w^{che} was Allwayes his oonly
 study to devise thynges to his commfort not passyng of the
 charges or expences/ yt delighted hyme so myche the kynges
 plesaunt pryncely presence/ that no thyng was to hyme more
 30 delectable than to cheare his souerayn lord to whome he owght
 so myche obedyence and loyaltie/ as reason requyred no lesse/
 All thynges well considered/

Thus/ passed the Cardynall hys lyfe & tyme frome day to day
 And yere to yere in suche great welthe, Ioy tryhumphe/ & glory
 35 hauyng allwayes on his syde the kynges especyall fauour/ vntill
 ffortune (of whos fauour no man is lenger assured than she is

6 the place *canc. before estate*

after his

before tryhumphant

10 w^t] *MS. w^{che}*

20 substam *canc. before subtilly; they interl.*

34 & *canc. before tryhumphe*

15 se *canc.*

21 de *canc.*

dysposed) began to wexe some thyng wrothe w^t his prosperous
 estate// thought she wold devyse a mean to abate his hyghe port
 wherfor she procured Venus the Insaciat goddesse to be hir
 Instrument to worke hir purpose/ She brought the kyng in love
 w^t a gentillwoman that after she perceyved and felt the kynges 5
 good wyll towards hir And howe dilygent he was bothe to please
 hir And to graunt all hir requestes she wrought the Cardynall
 myche displeasure as hereafter shalbe more at large declared/
 This gentilwoman the doughter of sir Thomas Bolayn beyng at
 that tyme but oonly a bacheler knyght the w^{che} after for the love 10
 of his dowghter was promoted to higher dignytes/ he bare at
 dyuers seuerall tymes for the most part all the Romes of
 estimacion in the kynges howsse as/ controller/ 'Treasorer/ vice
 Chamberleyn/ and lord Chamberlayn/ than was he made
 Viscount Rocheford/ And at the last created Erle of wyltshere/ 15
 & knyght of the noble order of the Garter/ And for his more
 encrease of gayn & honour he was made lord pryvye seale and
 most chefest of the kynges privye Councell/ Contynuyng therin
 vntill his Sonne & doughter did encurre the kynges Indignacion
 and displeasure/ 'The kyng fantazed so myche his doughter Anne 20
 that almost euery thyng began to growe owt of fframe & good
 order/ [f. 18^v]

To tell you/ howe the kynges love began to take place/ And
 what folowed therof/ I will do evyn as myche as in me lyeth
 declare you/ This gentillwoman M^{rs} Anne Boleyn beyng very 25
 yong was sent in to the realme of ffraunce/ And there made oon
 of the ffrenche Quens women contynuyng there vntill the
 ffrenche Quene dyed/ And than was she sent for home agayn/
 And beyng agayn w^t hir ffather he made suche means that she
 was admytted to be oon of Quene katheryns maydes/ Among 30
 whome for hir excellent gesture & behauour dyd excell all other
 in so myche/ As the kyng began to kyndell the brond of Amours/
 w^{che} was not knowen to any person ne skantly to hir owen
 person/ In so myche my lord Percy the Sonne & heyer of the
 Erle of Northumberland who than attendyd vpon the lord 35

5 a *interl.* 12 for *interl.* 15 at *interl.* 18 seale/ *canc.* after
 pryvye; Contynuyng] *MS.* Contynuyng 20 and *interl.*; displeasure/ The]
MS. displeasure The 27 women] *MS.* woman 28 was *canc.*
 before was 32 Amours] *MS.* Amourrs

Cardynall/ And was also hys seruyture/ And whan it chaunced
 the lord Cardynall at any tyme to repayer to the Courte/ The
 lord Percye wold than resort for his pastyme vnto the Quens
 chamber/ And there wold fall in dalyaunce among the quens
 5 maydens beyng at the last more conuersaunt w^t M^{rs} Anne
 Bolleyn than w^t any other so that there grewe suche a secrett
 love bytween them/ that at lengthe they ware ensured together
 entending to marye/ the w^{che} thyng came to the kynges know-
 lege/ who was than myche offendyd/ wherfore he cowld hyde no
 10 lenger his secrett affeccion but revealed his secrett entendement
 vnto my lord Cardynall in that behalfe/ And consultancy w^t hym to
 enfrynge the precontracte bytween them/ In so myche that after
 my lord Cardynall was departyd frome the Court & retourned
 home vnto his place at westminster/ not forgetyng the kynges
 15 request & Councell/ beyng in his Gallery/ called there byfore
 hym the seyde lord Percye/ vnto his presence/ And byfore vs
 his seruantes of his chamber sayeng thus vnto hym/ **I mervell**
 not a littill/ q^d he/ of thy pevysshe follye that thou woldest
 tangle and ensuer thy self w^t a folysshe gyrll yonder in the
 20 Court/ I mean Anne Bolloyn/ dost thou not consider thestate that
 god hathe called the vnto in this world/ ffor after the deathe of
 thy noble ffather thou art most lyke to enherite & possesse oon
 of the most worthyest Erldomes of thys Realme/ therfore it had
 byn most meate & convenyent for the to haue sewed for the
 25 concent of thy ffather/ [f. 19] in that behalfe And to haue also
 made the kynges highnes pryve therto requeryng than his
 pryncely favor submytting all thy hole procedyng in all suche
 matters vnto his highnes/ who wold not oonly accepte thank-
 fully yo^r submyssion/ but wold I assure the/ provyde so for yo^r
 30 purpose therin that he wold auaunce you myche more nobly
 And haue matched you accordyng to yo^r estat & honour/
 wherby ye myght haue growen so by yo^r wysdome & honorable
 behauour in to the kynges highe estymacion that it shold haue
 byn myche to yo^r encrease of honor/ But nowe behold what ye
 35 haue don thorowghe yo^r wyllfullnes/ ye haue not oonly
 offendyd yo^r naturall father but also yo^r most gracious souerayn

3 Quene *canc.* before Quens
canc. after the

4 he *canc.* before fall
 25 to *canc.* before to

12 precontract
 27 all *interl.* before thy

30 auaunce] *MS.* auunced

lord And matched yo^r selfe w^t oon suche as nother the kyng ne
yet yo^r ffather wilbe agreable w^t the matter/ And herof I put you
owt of dought/ that I wolde send for yo^r ffather/ And at his
Commyng he shall other breke this onadvysed contracte or
elles disinherite the for euer/ The kynges mat^{te} hyme self woll 5
complayn to thy ffather on the/ And requyer no lesse at his
handes than I haue seyde/ whos highnes entendyd to haue
preferred hir/ vnto an other person/ w^t whome the kyng hathe
travelled allredye/ and beyng allmost at a poynt w^t the same
person (althoughe she knowyth it not) yet hathe the kyng most 10
lyke a polityke & a prudent prynce/ conveyed the matter in
suche sort that she vppon the kynges mocyon wilbe (I dought
not) right glad & agreable to the same/ **Syr/ q^d** the lord Percyce
(all wepyng) I knewe no thyng of the kynges pleasure therin (for
whos displeasure I ame very sorry) I considered that I was of 15
good yeres and thought my selfe sufficient to provyd me of a
convenyent wyfe where as my ffantzy serued me best (not
doughtyng) but that my lord my father wold haue byn right
well perswadyd/ And thoughe she be a symple mayde & hauyng
but a knyght to hir father yet is she dissendyd of right noble 20
parentage/ as by hyr mother she [f. 19^v] is nyghe of the Norffolk
bloode/ And of hyr ffather side lynally dissendyd of the Erle
of Ormond he beyng oon of the Erles heyers generall/ wye shold
I than (sir) be any thyng scrypolous to matche w^t hir whos
estate of dissent is equyvolent w^t myn/ whan I shalbe in most 25
dygnytie/ Therfore I most humbly requyer yo^r grace of yo^r
especyall fauour herin/ And also to entret the kynges most royall
mat^{te} most lowly on my behalf for his pryncely benyvolence in
this matter the we^{che} I cannot deny or forsake// **Loo sirs/ q^d** the
Cardynall ye may se what conformytie or wysdome is in this 30
wyllfull boys hed/ I thought that whan thou hardest me declare
the kynges entendyd pleasure & travell herein thou woldest
haue relented and holy submytted thy self and all thy wyllfull
and onadvysed fact to the kynges Royall wyll & prudent pleasure 35
to be fully disposed & ordered by his graces disposicion as his
highnes shold seme good

2 yo *canc.* before you; you *interl.* 3 ffaher *canc.* after yo^r 5 disinherite
canc. after elles 6 no le *canc.* before at 10 the *interl.* 13 right]
MS. be right with be *interl.* 25 equylol *canc.* before equyvolent; in *interl.*

Sir so I wold q^d the lord Percy/ but in this matter I haue goon
 so ferre byfore so many worthy witnesses that I knowe not howe
 to avoyde my self nor to discharge my Concyence/ **Wye** thynkest
 thou q^d the Cardynall/ that the kyng And I/ knowe not what we
 5 haue to do in as waytie a matter As this/ yes q^d he/ I warraunt
 the/ howbeit I can se in the no submyssion to the purpose/
ffor sothe my lord/ q^d my lord Percy if it please yo^r grace I
 wyll submytt my self holy to the kynges ma^{tie} & grace in thys
 matter my consience beyng discharged of the waytie burden of
 10 my precontract/ Well than q^d the Cardynall/ I wyll send for yo^r
 ffather owt of the Northe parties/ And he and we shall take
 suche order for the avoydyng of thys thy hasty folly as shalbe
 by the kyng thought most expedyent/ And in the mean season/
 I charge the & in the kynges name commaund the that thou
 15 presume not oons to resort in to hir Company as thou entendest
 to avoyde the kynges highe indygnacion/ And this sayed he
 roose vppe & went in to his Chamber/

Than was/ the Erle of Norhumberland sent for in all hast in the
 kynges name/ who vppon knowlege of the kynges pleasure made
 20 quyke spede to the Court/ And at his first Commyng owt of the
 Northe he made his first [f. 20] repayer vnto my lord Cardynall/
 at whos mouthe he was advertysed in the cause of his hasty
 sendyng for/ beyng in my lorde Cardynalles gallerye w^t hyme in
 secrett commynycacion a long whyle/ And after ther long talke
 25 my lord Cardynall Called for a Cuppe w^t wynne/ And drynkyng
 together they brake vppe/ and so departed the Erle vppon
 whome we ware commaunded to wayte & to convey hyme to hys
 seruauntes/ And in his goyng a way whan he came to the Gal-
 leryes ende he satt hyme down vppon a fforme/ that stode there
 30 for the wayters some tyme to take ther ease/ And beyng there
 sett/ Called hys Sonne the lord Percy vnto hyme And sayed in
 our presence/ thus in effect/ **Sone q^d he**/ thou hast allwayes
 byn a prowde, presumpcious, disdaynfull, And a very onthryfte
 waster/ And evyn so hast thou nowe declared thy self/ Therefore

3 d. *canc. before* avoyde 5 this/ yes] *MS. this yes* 6 .e *canc.*
before in 7 q^d *canc. before* my lord 13 season *canc. after* mean
 15 in to *interl.*; vnto *canc. before* hir 19 know *canc. before* knowlege
 27 wayed *canc. before* wayte; wayte *interl.*; vppon hyme *canc. after* wayte;
 convey] *MS. contey* 28 seruauntes/ And] *MS. seruauntes And*
 31 vnto & *canc. before* in 34 So *canc. before* And

what Ioy,/ what Comfort,/ what pleasure/ or solace shold I
 conceyve in the/ that thus w^tout discession & advisement hast
 mysused thy self/ havynge no maner of regard to me thy naturall
 father ne inespelyall vnto thy souerayn lord/ to whome all
 honest And loyall subiectes berythe faythfull & humble 5
 obedyence/ ne yet to the welthe of thyn owen estate But hathe
 so onadvysedly ensured thy self to hir for whome thou hast
 purchased the/ the kynges displeasure intollerable for any
 subiecte to susteyn/ but that his grace of his mere wysdome
 dothe consider the lightnes of thy hed and wilfull qualites of 10
 thy person/ his displeasure and Indignacion ware sufficient to
 cast me and all my posterytie in to vtter subuersion & dysso-
 lacion/ but he beyng my especyall & syngular good lord and
 fauorable prynce/ And my lord Cardynall my good lord/ hathe
 and dothe clearly excuse me in thy lowd facte/ And dothe 15
 Rather lament thy lightnes, than malyng the same/ And hathe
 devysed an order to be taken for the/ to whome bothe thou & I
 be more bound than we be able well to consider/ I pray to god
 that this may be to the a sufficient monycion & warnyng to vse
 thy self more wittier hereafter for thus I assure the yf thou dost 20
 not amend thy prodigalitie thou wylt be the last Erle of our
 howsse/ ffor of thy naturall Inclynacion thou art disposed
 [f. 20^v] to be wastfull prodegall And to consume all that thy
 progenytors hathe w^t great travell gathered to gether And kept
 w^t honour/ But hauyng the kynges mat^{te} my syngular good & 25
 gracious lord I entend (god wyll) so to dispose my succession
 that ye shall consume therof but a littill/ for I do not purpose
 (I assure the) to make the myn heyer (ffor prayes be to god)
 I haue more choyes of Boyes who I trust wyll prove them selves
 myche better And vse them more lyke vnto nobilitie/ among 30
 whome I woll chos & take the best & most lykelyest to succed
 me/ Nowe maysters & good gentilmen q^d he vnto vs/ yt may be
 yo^r chaunces hereafter whan I ame deade to se the prove of thes

3 mys mysused *canc.* before mysused with *mys interl.*; mysused *interl.*
 7 advysed *canc.* before onadvysedly; onadvysedly] *MS.* on advysedly 9 of
canc. before grace 12 in *interl.* 20 thus] s frayed away at edge
 of page 21 last] st frayed away at edge of page 22 disposed]
 d frayed away at edge of page 23 that *interl.* 25 good *interl.*; lord
canc. before & 29 more] *MS.* more more 30 vnto noblytye//
canc. before vnto

thynges that I haue spoken to my Sonne prove as true as I haue
 spoken them/ yeat in the mean season I desier you all to be his
 frend and to tell hyme hys fault whan he dothe amys wherein
 ye shall shewe yo^r selves to be myche his frendes/ And w^t that
 5 he toke hys leave of vs/ And sayed to his sonne thus/ goo yo^r
 wayes And attend vppon my lordes grace yo^r mayster/ And se
 that you do yo^r dewtie/ And so departyd and went his ways
 down thorough the hall in to his barge/ Than after long
 debatyng and consultacion vppon the lorde Percyes assuraunce/
 10 yt was devysed that the same shold be enfrynged and dissolved/
 And that the lord Percye shold mary w^t oon of the Erle of
 Shrewesburys daughters/ As he dyd after/ By means whereof
 the former contracte was clearely ondon/ wherew^t m^{rs} Anne
 Bolloyn was greatly offendyd/ Sayeng that if it lay euer in hir
 15 power she wold worke the Cardynall as myche displeasure (As
 she dyd in dede after) And yet was he nothyng to blame/ ffor he
 practised no thyng in that matter but it was the kynges oonly
 devyse/ And evyn as my lord Percye was commaundyd to avoyd
 hir Company/ Evyn so was she commaundyd to avoyde the
 20 Court/ And she sent home agayn to hir ffather for a season/
 where at she smoked for all this while she knewe no thyng of the
 kynges entendyd purpose/ **But ye/** may se whan ffortune
 begynnythe to lower howe she can compasse a matter to worke
 displeasure by a farre fetch/ **ffor now** marke good reder the
 25 grudge howe it began that in processe burst owt to the vtter
 ondoynge of the Cardynall/ **O lord** what a god art thou that
 workest thy secrettes so wondersly w^ehe be not [f. 21] perceyved
 vntill they be brought to passe and ffynysshed/ marke thys
 history folowyng/ good reder/ And note euery circumstaunce/
 30 And thou shall espie at thyn eye the wonderfull workes of god
 agaynst suche persons as forgettith the god and his great benefites/
 Marke I say/ marke them well/

After that all thes troblesome matters of my lord Percys was
 broughe to a good staye/ And all thynges ffynesshed that was
 35 byfore devysed/ M^{rs} Anne Bolloyn was revoked vnto the Court
 where she florissshed after in great estimacion And ffauour/

10 be interl. 16 he interl. before nothyng 17 it] t written over s; was
 interl. 20 father canc. before ffather 25 h canc. before it 29 esto
 canc. before history

havynge allwayes a pryve Indygnacion vnto the Cardynall for
 brekyng of the precontract made bytween my lord Percy & hir
 supposyng that it had byn his owen devyse & wyll and non
 other/ not yet beyng pryve to the kynges secrett mynd all-
 thoughe that he had a great affeccion vnto hir/ howbeit after 5
 she knewe the kynges pleasure and the great love that he bare hir
 in the bottome of his stomake/ Than began she to loke very
 hault and stowt hauyng all maner of Ioyelles or riche apparell
 that myght be gotten w^t mony/ yt was therfore Iuged by and by
 thoroughe all the Court of euery man that she beyng in suche 10
 fauour w^t the kyng myght worke maystres w^t the kyng And
 opteyn any sewte of hyme for hir ffrend/ And all this while she
 beyng in this estymacion in all places/ yt is no dought but good
 Quen katheren hauyng this gentillwoman dayly attendyng vppon
 hir/ bothe hard by report/ And perceyved byfore hir eyes the 15
 matter howe it framed ayenst hir (good lady) allthoughe she
 shewed (to m^{rs} Anne/ ne vnto the kyng) any sparke or kynd of
 grudge or displeasure/ but toke and accepted all thynges in good
 part And w^t wysdome and great pacience dissimuled the same/
 hauyng M^{rs} Anne in more estymacion for the kynges sake than 20
 she had byfore/ declaryng hir self therby to be a perfect
 Grysheld/ as hir pacient actes shall hereafter more evidently to
 all men be declared/ The kyng waxed so ferre in amours w^t this
 gentilwoman/ that he knewe not howe myche he might auance
 hir/ This perceyving the great lordes of the Councell beryng a 25
 secrett grudge ayenst the Cardynall because that they could not
 rewle in the Comenwell (for hyme) as they wold/ who kept them
 lowe and rewled theme as well as other meane subiectes/ where
 at they caught an occasion [f. 21^v] to Invent a mean to bryng
 hyme owt of the kynges highe fauour and them in to more 30
 auctorytie of Rewle & Cyvell gouernance/ after long and secrett
 consultacion among them selves howe to bryng ther malice to
 effect ayenst the Cardynall/ They knewe right well that it was
 very deficyll for them to do any thyng directly of them selves

3 *hys canc. before his* 9 *wha canc. before was* 10 *thoug canc.*
before thorough; the canc. before that 12 *while interl.* 18 *a single*
indecipherable letter canc. before or 25 *hir/ This] MS. hir This; beryng]*
MS. beryng 26 *not interl.* 27 *Comenwell] MS. Coen well.*
See n. 31 *Cyvell canc. before Cyvell* 34 *thyng interl.*

wherfore they perceyvyng the great affeccion that the kyng bare
 lovyngly vnto Mr^s Anne Bolleyn ffantazyng in ther heddes that
 she shold be for them a suffycient & an Apte Instrument to
 bryng ther maliciouse purpose to passe/ w^t whome they often
 5 consulted in this matter/ And she hauyng bothe a very good
 wytt and also an Inward desier to be revenged of the Cardynall/
 was as aggreable to ther requestes as they ware them selves/
 wherfore ther was no more to do but oonly to Imagyn some
 pretenced circumstaunce to Induce ther malicious accusacion/
 10 In so myche that there was Imagyned & Invented among them
 dyuers Imagynacions and subtyll devyisyng howe this matter shold
 be brought about/ the enterpryse therof was so dayngerous
 that thoughe they wold fayn haue often attempted the matter w^t
 the kyng/ yet they durst not/ for they knewe the great lovyng
 15 affeccion and thespecyall fauour that the kyng bare to the
 Cardynall/ And also they feared the wonder wytt of the
 Cardynall/ for thys they vnderstode very well/ that if ther
 matter that they shold propone ayenst hym were not grounde
 vppon a Iust and an vrgent cause the kynges fauor beyng suche
 20 towards hym and his wytt suche that he wold w^t polleyce van-
 quyshe all ther purpose & travayll and than lye in a waytte to
 worke them an vtter distruccion and subuersion wherfore they
 were compelled all thynges considered to forbere ther enterpryse
 vntill they myght espie a more convenyent tyme & occasion/
 25 And yet the Cardynall espieng the great zeale that the kyng had
 conceyved in this Gentill woman/ Ordered hym self to please as
 well the kyng as hyr/ Dissimulyng the matter that laye hyd in his
 brest/ And prepared great Bankettes And solempne feastes to
 entertayn them bothe/ at his owen howsse/ And thus the world
 30 began to growe in to wonderfull Inuencions not hard of byfore
 in this Realme/ the love bytween the kyng & this gorgious lady
 grewe to suche a perfeccion that dyuers Imagynacions were
 Imagyned/ wherof I leve to speke vntill I come to the place where
 I may haue more occasion/ [f. 22]

2 /hyme my lady *canc. after vnto; Mr^s interl.* 9 circumstaunce] *MS.*
 circumstaunce 12 about/ the] *MS.* about the 13 of *canc.*
before often 17 vn *canc. before they* 18 matt.*canc. before*
 matter; pp shold *canc. after they with shold interl.; hyme interl.* 19 an *canc.*
before and; and an interl.; cause the] MS. cause (the 24 p . . . *canc.*
before occasion 32 grewe *interl.*

Than began/ a Certeyn Grodge to arise between the ffrenche kyng and the Duke of Burbon/ in so myche as the Duke beyng vassayll to the howsse of ffraunce was constrayned for the savegard of his person to ffele his domynion and to forsake his terretory & Contrie dowghtyng the kynges great malice and 5 Indignacion/ The Cardynall havynge therof Intelligence/ Compased in his hed that if the kyng our souerayn lord (havynge an occasion of warres w^t the Realme of ffraunce) myght Retayn the Duke to be his generall in his warres there in as myche as the Duke was ffled vnto the Emprour to Invyte hyme also to stere 10 warres ayenst the ffrenche kyng/ The Cardynall hauynge all this Imagynacion in his hed/ thought it good to move the kyng in this matter And after the kyng was oons aduertised herof/ And conceyved the Cardynalles Imagynacion & Invencion/ he dredmed of this matter more & more vntill at the last it came in 15 question among the Councell in consultacion So that it was there fynally concludyd that an Ambassett shold be sent to the Emprour abought this matter/ w^t whome it was concludyd that the kyng and the Emperour shold Ioyn in thes warres ayenst the ffrenche kyng And that the Duke of Burbon shold be our 20 Souerayn lordes Champion & generall in the feld/ who had appoynted hyme a great number of good Souldiors ouer & besides the Emperours army w^{che} was not small/ and led by oon of his owen noble men/ and also that the kyng shold pay the Duke his wages & his retynewe monthly/ In so myche as sir 25 Iohn Russell (w^{che} was after Erle of Beddford) lay contynually by yond the sees in a secrett place assigned bothe for to receyve the kynges mony and to paye the same monthly to the Duke/ So that the Duke began fierce warre w^t the ffrenche kyng in his owen terretory & Dukdome/ w^{che} the ffrenche kyng had 30 confiscatt and seased in to his handes/ yet not knowen to the dukes ennemyes that he had any Ayed of the kyng our souerayn lord/ And thus he wrought the ffrenche kyng moche troble & displeasure/ In so myche as the ffrenche kyng was compelled of

3 a *canc. before* vassayll 11 ffrenche/ *canc. before* ffrenche 13 aduerty
canc. before aduertised and of the *before* herof 15 matter *canc.*
before matter 24 pay *interl.* 25 s *canc. after* Duke; first his *interl.*;
wages *canc. before* wages and monthly *before* monthly; monthly/ *interl.*
28 the *interl. before* Duke 30 owen *interl.* 31 confiskatt *canc.*
before confiscatt

fyne force to put harnoys on his bake & to prepare a pieusaunt
 army Royall and in his own person to auauce to defend and
 resist the Dukes power and malice/ the duke hauyng vnder-
 standyng [f. 22^v] of the kynges auauunceme^t was compelled of
 5 force to take Pavya a strong town in Italy w^t his host for ther
 securitie where as the kyng beseged hyme & encamped hyme
 wonderouse strongly entendyng to enclose the Duke w^t in thys
 towen that he shold not Issewe/ yet notw^tstandyng the Duke
 wold & did many tymes Issewe and escramoche w^t the kynges
 10 army/ **Nowe** lett vs leave the kyng in his Campe byfore Pavya
 And retourne to the lord Cardynall/ who Semed to be more
 ffrenche than Emperyall/ but howe it came to passe I cannot
 declare you/ but the kyng lyeng in hys Campe sent secretly in to
 Englund a pryvy person a very wytty to treatte of a peace
 15 bytween hyme and the kyng our souerayn lord whos name was
 Iohn Iokyn/ he was kept as secrett as myght be that no man had
 Intelligence of his repayer for he was no ffrenche man but an
 Itallion borne a man byfore of no estymacyon in ffrance/ or
 knowen to be in fauour w^t hys m^r, but to be a merchaunt, and for
 20 his subtill wytt elected to entreat of suche affayers as the kyng
 had Commaundyd hyme by ambassett/ This Iokyn after his
 arryvall here in England was secrettly conveyed vnto the kynges
 manour of Richemond and there remayned vntill wytsontyd at
 w^{che} tyme the Cardynall resortyd thether and kept there the seyd
 25 feast very Solomply/ In w^{che} season my lord Caused thys Ioken
 dyuers tymes to dyne w^t hyme/ whos talke & behauour semed
 to be wytty, sober & wonderouse discrette who contynued in
 Englund long after vntyll he had (as it semed) brought his
 purposed ambassett to passe w^{che} he had in commyssion// ffor
 30 after this there was sent owt Immedyaty a restraynt vnto sir Iohn
 Russell in to thos parties where he made his abydyng by yond
 the sees that he shold retayne and kepe bake that monythe
 wages still in hys handes w^{che} shold haue byn payed vnto the
 Duke of Burbon (vntyll the kynges pleasure ware to hyme
 35 further knowen) ffor want of w^{che} mony at the day appoynted of

15 called *canc. before* was; was *interl.*

21 comaay *canc. before* Commaundyd

canc. before very

written over l

27 se *canc. after* be

17 borne *canc. before* but

24 his *canc. after* there

25 of

30 Immedyaty] t

payment/ 'The Duke & his retynewe ware greatly dismayd and
 sore disapoynted/ And whan they sawe that ther mony was not
 brought vnto them as it was wont to be/ And beyng in so
 dayngerous a case for want of victualles w^{che} was wonderouse
 skant & deare there was many Imagynacions what shold be the 5
 cause of the lett therof/ Some sayd this & some sayd they wyst
 neuer what/ So that they mystrusted no [f. 23] thyng lesse than
 the very Cause therof/ In so myche at the last what for want of
 victuall and other necessaryes w^{che} could not be gotten w^t in the
 town The Capteyns & Sowldiours began to grudge and Mutter 10
 And at the last for lake of victuall ware lyke all to perysshe/ they
 beyng in this extremyte came byfore the Duke of Burbon ther
 Capteyn/ And sayd/ Sir we must be of very force and necessitie
 compelled to yeld vs in to the daynger of our ennemyes and
 better it ware for vs so to do then here to sterve lyke dogges/ 15
 whan the Duke hard ther lamentacions and vnderstode the-
 extremyte that they ware brought vnto for lake of mony (sayd
 agayn) vnto theme/ Sirs q^d he ye are bothe valyaunt men and of
 noble Corage who hathe scruyd here vnder me right worthely
 and for yo^r necessitie wherof I ame particypant I do not a littill 20
 lament/ howbeit I shall desier you as you are noble in hartes and
 Corage so to take pacience for a day or twayn/ And if Socoure
 come not than frome the kyng of Englund (as I dought no
 thyng) that he wyll dissayve vs/ I woll well agree that we shall all
 put our selves and all our lyfes vnto the mercy of our ennemyes/ 25
 wher w^t they ware all agreable And expectyng the Commyng of
 the kynges mony the space of iij^{re} dayes (the w^{che} dayes past) the
 Duke seyng no remedye/ called his noble men & Capteyns And
 Sowldiours byfore hyme/ And all wepyng sayd/ O ye noble
 Capteyns and valyaunt men, my gentill Companyons/ I se no 30
 remedye in this necessitie but other we must yeld vs vnto our
 ennemyes or elles ffamysshe/ And to yeld the town and our
 selves I knowe not the mercye of our ennemyes/ And as for my
 part I passe not of ther Cruelties/ ffor I knowe very well that I
 shall suffer most cruell deathe if I come oons in to ther handes/ 35

5 wh <i>canc. before</i> shold	6 therof/ Some] <i>MS. therof</i> Some	7 thynke
lesse <i>canc. before</i> thyng	16 r of vnderstode <i>interl.</i>	20 wherof]
<i>MS. (wherof</i>	29 sayeng <i>canc. before</i> all; all <i>interl.</i>	32 ffamysshe/
And] <i>MS. ffamysshe</i> And; to <i>interl.</i> ; yeld <i>canc. after</i> to		35 most <i>interl.</i>

yt is not for my selfe therfore that I do lame^t but it is for yo^r
sakes, yt is for yo^r lyfes/ yt is also for the saluegard of yo^r persons
ffor so that ye myght escape the daynger of yo^r ennemyes handes
I wold most gladly suffer deathe/ 'Therfore good Companyons
5 and noble Sowldyours I shall requyer yow all/ considering the
dayngerous mysery and Calamytie/ that we stand in at this
present to sell our lyves most derely rather then to be murdered
lyke beastes/ yf ye wyll folowe my Councel we woll take vppon
vs this nyght to geve our ennemyes an assault to ther Campe and
10 by [f. 23^v] that means we may other escape or elles geve them
an ouerthrowe/ And thus it ware better to dye in the feld lyke
men than to lyve in captivytie and mysery as prisoners/ To the
w^{che} they all agreed/ 'Then q^d the Duke/ ye perceyve that our
ennemyes hathe encamped vs w^t a strong Campe And that there
15 is no way to enter but oon w^{che} is so plantyd w^t great ordynaunce
And force of men that it is not possible to enter that wayes to
fight w^t our ennemyes w^tout great daynger/ And also ye se that
nowe of late they haue hade small dought of vs In so myche as
they haue kepte but slender watche/ therfore my pollecye &
20 devyse shall be this/ that abought the deade tyme of the nyght
whan our ennemyes be most quyot at rest/ shall Issue frome vs a
number of the most delyuerest sowldyours to assault ther
Campe who shall geve the assaulte right fercely evyn dyrectly
ayenst the entre of the Campe w^{che} is all most Invyncible/ yo^r
25 ferce & sharpe assault shalbe to them in the Campe so dought-
full that they shalbe compelled to torne the strengthe of ther
entre that lyethe ouer ayenst yo^r assault to beate you frome the
assaulte than wyll I issue owt at the posterne and come to the
place of ther strenthe newlie torned And there or they beware
30 woll I entere and fight w^t them at the same place where ther
gonnes & strengthe lay byfore And so come to the rescue of you
of the sault/ And wynnyng ther ordynaunce w^{che} they haue
torned And beat them w^t ther owen peces/ And than we
Ioynnyng together in the feld I trust we shall haue a fayer hand
35 of theme/ 'This devyse pleased them wonderouse well/ than

8 yf *interl.*10 that *canc. before* that12 prisoners/ To] *MS.*

prisoners 'To

22 sowldyours *interl.*27 beate y *canc. before* beate29 of ther strenthe *interl.*; b *canc. before* beware30 place *interl.*31 b *canc. before* byfore34 to *canc. after* trust; we shall *interl.*

prepared they all that day for the purposed devyse And kept
 them secrett & cloose w^{out} Any noyse or shott of peces wⁱⁿ
 the town w^{che} gave ther ennemyes the lesse feare of any troble
 that nyght but euery man went to ther rest/ wⁱⁿ ther Tentes &
 lodgynges quyotly no thyng mystrustyng that after ensued/ 5
 Then whan all the kynges host was at rest/ the assaylauntes
 issued ow^t of the town w^t ow^t any noyce accordyng to the
 former appoyntme^t And gave a ferce & cruell assault at the
 place appoynted/ that they w^t in the Campe had as myche a do to
 defend as was possible to resist/ And evyn as the Duke had 10
 byfore declared to his sowldyours [f. 24] they wⁱⁿ ware com-
 pelled to torne ther shott that lay at ther entre ayenst the
 assayllauntes/ w^t that Issued the duke and w^t hyme abought
 xv^{en} or xvj^{en} thousand men or more/ And secrettly in the nyght
 his ennemyes beyng not privey of his Commyng vntill he was 15
 entred the fyld and at his first entre he was m^r of all the
 ordynaunce that lay there and slewe the gonners and charged
 the seyde peces & bent them ayenst his ennemyes whome he
 slewe wonderously a great nomber/ he Cut down Tentes and
 Pavyllions and muredred them w^t in them or they wyst of ther 20
 Commyng/ Suspectyng/ no thyng lesse than The dukes entre/
 So that he whan the feld or euer the kyng could aryse to the
 rescue/ who was taken in hys lodgyng or euer he was armed/
 And whan the Duke had opteyned the fyld & the ffrenche kyng
 taken prisoner, his men slayn And his tentes Robbed & spoyled 25
 w^{che} was wonderous Riche And in the spoyle sercheng of the
 kynges treasour in his Coffers/ there was found among them
 the leage newly concludyd bytween the kyng of England & the
 ffrenche kyng vnder the great seale of England/ w^{che} oons by
 hyme perceyved he began to smell the Impedyme^t of his mony 30
 w^{che} shold haue come to hyme frome the kyng/ havyng (vppon
 dewe serche of this matter) further Intellygence that all this
 matter & his vtter vndoing was concludyd & devysed by the
 Cardynall of England/ And the Duke conceyvyng suche an

3 lesse *interl.* 5-6 ensued/ Then] *MS.* ensued Then 6 host *canc.*
 before kynges 7 ow^t *interl.* after w^t 13 assayllauntes/ w^t] *MS.*
 assayllauntes w^t 16 the *canc.* before all 17 er *canc.* between the two n's
 of gonners 20 wyst *canc.* after they; ware *canc.* before wyst; wyst *interl.*
 21 no thyng *canc.* after Suspectyng 25 spoyled *canc.* before spoyled

Indygnacion herevppon ayenst the Cardynall/ that after he hade
 establisshed all thynges there in good order & securitie/ he went
 Incontynent vnto Rome entending ther to sakke the town And
 to haue taken the Pope prisoner/ where at his first assault of the
 5 walles he was the first man that was there slayn (yet not-
 w^tstandyng) his Capteyns contynued there the assault And in
 conclusion wane the town And the Pope fled vnto Castell
 Ayngell/ where he contynued long after in great Calamyte/
I have writtyn thus thys history at large bycause it was thought
 10 that the Cardynall gave the chefe occasion of all thys myschefe/
 ye may perceyve what thyng so euer a man purposithe [f. 24^v]
 be he prynce or prelate yet notw^tstandyng god disposithe all
 thynges at his wyll & pleasure/ wherfore it is great foly for any
 wyse man to take any waytie enterpryce of hyme self trustyng
 15 all together to his owen wyll not callyng for grace to assist hyme
 in all his procedynges/ I haue knowen & seen in my dayes that
 prynces And great men wold other assemble at any Parliament or
 in any other great busynes first wold most reuerently call to god
 for his gracious assistaunce therin And nowe I se the contrary/
 20 wherfore me semys that they trust more in ther owen wisdomes
 & Imagynacions than they do to goddes helpe & disposicion
 And therfore often they spede therafter and ther matters take
 suche successe/ Therefore not oonly in this history but in
 dyuers others ye may perceyve right evydent examples And yet
 25 I se no man in auctorytie or highe estate Allmost regard or haue
 any respect to the same (the greater is the pitie and the more
 to be lamented/ Nowe wyll I desist frome this matter/ and
 procede to other)

Vppon the takyng of the ffrenche kyng many Consultacions
 30 And dyuers oppynyons ware than in argument among the
 Councell here in England/ wherof Some hild oppynyon/ that if
 the kyng wold Invade the realme of ffraunce in propir person w^t
 a pieusaunt Army Royall he myght easely conquere the same
 considering that the ffrenche kyng and the most part of the
 35 noble pieers of ffraunce ware than prisoners w^t the Emproure/

2 there interl.

4 a *canc.* before assault

11 th *canc.* before so

12 kyng *canc.* before prelate

13 at *canc.* before at

15 vppon *canc.*

before for

18 wold interl.

27 I interl.

35 Emproure] *MS.*

Emprourre

Some agayn sayed/ howe that ware no honour for the kyng our
souerayn lord (the kyng beyng in CaptiuYTE) But some sayed that
the ffrenche kyng owght by the lawe of Armez to be the kynges
prisoner/ for as myche as he was taken by the kynges Capteyn
Generall (the Duke of Burbon) and not by the Emprours so that 5
some moved the kyng to take warre thervppon w^t the Emprour/
onles he wold delyuer the ffrenche kyng owt of his handes and
possession/ w^t dyuers many other Imagynacions and Inuencions
evyn as euery mans ffantazys seruyd theme to long here to be
rehersted the w^{che} I leave to the writers of Cronycles/ Thus 10
continuyng [f. 25] long in debatyng vppon this matter/ And
euery man in the Court had there talke as wyll w^tout wyt led
ther fantazis/ At the last it was deuysed by means of dyuers
ambassettes sent in to Englund owt of the Realme of ffrance
desyryng the kyng our souerayn lord to take order w^t the 15
Emprour for the ffrenche kynges delyuere as his Royall wysdome
shold seme good/ wherein the Cardynall bare the stroke/ So that
After long delyberacion And Advyse taken in this matter it was
thought good by the Cardynall that the Emprour shold
redelyuer owt of his ward the ffrenche kyng vppon sufficyent 20
pledges/ And that the kynges too Sonnes (that is to say) the
Dolphyn and the Duke of Orlyauce shold be delyuerd in hos-
tage for the kyng ther ffather w^{che} was in conclusion brought to
passe/ Than after the kynges delyuere owtt frome themprours
vse & the kynges our souerayn lordes securitie for the recom- 25
pence of all suche demaundes and restitucions as shold be
demaundyd of the ffrenche kyng/ The Cardynall lamentyng the
ffrenche kynges Calamytie/ And the Popes great aduersitie
(w^{che} yet remayned in Castell ayngell) owther as a prisoner or
elles for his defence & savegard (I cannot tell whether) Travelled 30
all that he could w^t the kyng & his Councell to take order as well
for the delyuere of the oon, as for the quyotnes of thother/ At
last as ye haue hard here tofore/ howe dyuers of the great
estates/ & lordes of the Councell lay in a wayt w^t my lady Anne

1 howe *interl.*; the kyng *interl.*

5 Ge *canc. before* Generall

MS. Cronyclers

before taken

canc. before estates

6 thervppon *interl.*

11 in *canc. after* continuyng

25-26 the recompence of *interl.*

3 the *interl. before* kynges

10 Cronycles]

18 taken *canc.*

34 estes estates

- Bulloyn to espie a convenient tyme & occasion to take the Cardynall in a brake/ thought it than that nowe is the tyme come that we haue expected supposyng it best to cause hyme to take vppon hyme the kynges Commyssion and to travell by yond the
 5 sees in this matter/ Sayeng (to encorage hyme therto) that it ware more mete for his highe discession, wytt & auctorytie to compasse & bryng to passe a perfight peace among thes great & most myghty prynces of the world than any other w^t in this Realme or elles where/ Ther ententes & purpose was oonly but
 10 to gett hyme owt of the kynges dayly presence/ And to convey hyme owt of the Realme that they myght haue convenient laysor and opportunitie to Aduenture ther long desired enterpryce/ And by the ayde of ther Cheafe m^{rs} (my lady Anne) to deprave hyme so vnto the kyng in his absence that he shold
 15 be rather in his hyghe displeasure than in his accustomed fauour/ or at the lest to be in lesse estymacion w^t his ma^{tie}/ well what wyll you haue more/ [f. 25v] Thys matter was so handeled that the Cardynall was commaundyd to prepare hymself to this Iourney the w^{che} he was fayn to take vppon hyme/ but wether
 20 it was w^t his good wyll or no I ame not well able to tell you/ but this I knewe that he made a short abode after the determynat resolucyon therof but caused all thynges to be prepared onward toward his Iourney And euery oon of his seruauentes were appoynted that shold attend vppon hyme in the same/
 25 **Whan all thynges** was fully concludyd And for thys noble ambassett provyded and furnysshed than was no lett but auaunce forwardes in the name of good/ my lord Cardynall had w^t hyme suche of the lordes & bysshopes and other worthy persons as ware not privye of the Conspiracye/ Than marched
 30 he forward owt of his owen howsse at westminster passyng thoroughe all london ouer london brydge/ hauyng byfore hyme of gentillmen a great nomber iij^{re} in a ranke in blake veluett lyuere Cottes and the most part of them w^t great chayns of gold
 35 abought ther neckes/ And all his yomen w^t noble men & gentilmens seruauentes folowyng hyme in ffrenche tauny lyuere Coottes hauyng enbrodered vppon ther bakes & brestes of the

3 it *interl.*
 than; than *and* accustomed *interl.*

9 or any other *canc. before* or

17 whyll *canc. before* wyll

15 & *canc. before*

same Coottes thes letters/ T & C/ vnder the Cardynalles hatte/
his Sompter Mewlles w^{che} ware xx^{ti} in number & moore w^t his
Cartes & other Cariages of his trayn ware passed on by fore/
conducted & garded w^t a great number of bowes & speres/ he
Roode lyke a Cardynall very soumptiously on a mewle/ trapped 5
w^t Crymmesyn veluett vppon veluett and his stirropes of Copper
& gylt And his spare mewle folowyng hym w^t lyke apparrell/
And byfore hym he hade his ij great Crossys of siluer/ ij great
pillers of Syluer/ the great seale of England/ his Cardynalles hatt/
And a gentilman that Caried his valaunce otherwyse called a 10
clooke bage w^{che} was made all to gether of ffynne Scarlett clothe
enbrodered ouer & ouer w^t clothe of gold very richely hauyng in
hit a Clooke of fynne Scarlett/ thus passed he thoroughe london
and all the way of his Iourney/ hauyng his harbergers passyng
byfore to provyde lodgynges for his trayn/ The first Iourney he 15
made to Dertford in kent vnto sir Richard wyltchers howsse
w^{che} is too myles beyond Dertford where all his trayn ware
lodged that nyght & in the Contrie there about/ The next day
he roode to Rochester and lodged in the bysshopes palice there
and the rest of his trayn in the Cytie & in Strode on this side the 20
bryge [f. 26] The iij^{de} day/ he Rode frome thence to ffieursham/
And there was lodged in the Abbey and his trayn in the town
and some in the Contrie/ there aboutes/ The iiijth day he Rode
to Caunterbury where he was encountered w^t the worshipfullest
of the town and Contrye and loged in the Abbey of Crystes 25
churche in the Prouers lodgyng/ And all his trayn in the Citie/
where he contynued iij^{re} or iiij^{or} dayes in w^{che} tyme ther was the
great Iubely And a fayer in honour of the feast of Seynt Thomas
ther patrone/ In w^{che} day of the seyd feast w^{thin} the abbey there
was made a Solompne procession and my lord Cardynall 30
presently in the same Appareled in his legantyn ornamentes w^t
his Cardynalles hatt on hys hed/ who commaundyd the monkes
and all ther quyer to syng the littany after thys sort Sancta maria
ora pro papa nostro Clemente And so pervsed the litteny

2 ware interl.

before Clooke

before provyde

canc. before Strode

26 loging canc. before lodgyng

before same

4 bylles & canc. before bowes

14 harbergers canc. before harbergers

18 about/ The] MS. about The

23 aboutes/ The] MS. aboutes The

27 tyme interl.

13 cloke canc.

15 pro canc.

20 stro

31 same canc.

thorough/ my lord Cardynall knelyng at the quyer doore at a
 forme couered w^t Carpettes and Cusshons The monkes & all
 the quyer standyng all that while in the myddes of the bodye of
 the chirche/ At w^{che} tyme I sawe the Cardynall wepe very
 5 tenderly w^{che} was as we supposed for hevynes that the pope was
 at that present in suche Calamytie & great daynger of the
 launceknuyghtes/ The next day I was sent w^t letters frome my
 lord Cardynall vnto Calice by emposte In so myche as I was that
 same nyght in Calice/ And at my landyng I found standyng
 10 vppon the peere w^tout lanterne Gate all the Councell of the
 towne to whome I delyuerd and dispeched my message &
 letters or euer I entred the town/ where as I lay ij dayes after or
 my lord came thether/ who arryved in the havyn there ij day
 aftr my commyng about viijth of the Cloke in the mornyng/
 15 where he was receyved in procession w^t all the worshipfullest
 persons of the town in most Solomplest wyse And in the lantern
 gate was sett for hyme a forme w^t Carpettes & Cusshons/ where
 att he kneled & made hys prayers byfore his entre any further in
 the town and there he was senced w^t ij great Sencers of Syluer
 20 and sprynkylled w^t halewater/ That don he arrose vppe &
 passed on w^t all that assemble byfore hyme syngeng vnto Seynt
 Maris churche/ where he standyng at the highe Aulter tornyng
 hyme self to the people gave them his benediccion & clean
 remysion/ And than they conducted hyme frome thence vnto
 25 an [f. 26^v] howsse called the Chekker/ where he lay & kepte his
 howse as long as he abode in the town (goyng Immedyatly to his
 naked bed by cause he was somewhat trobled w^t syknes in his
 passage vppon the Sees that nyght) vnto this place of the
 Chekker resorted to hyme Monsur de Bees Captayn of Bolloyn
 30 w^t a number of gallaunt gentilmen, who dynd w^t hyme/ And
 after some consultacion w^t the Cardynall/ he w^t the rest of the
 gentilmen departid agayn to Bolloyn Thus the Cardynall was
 dayly visited w^t oon or other of the ffrenche nobilitie/ Than whan
 all his trayn & Cariages ware loded at Calice And euery thyng
 35 prepared in a redynes for his Iourney/ he called byfore hyme all

13 came *canc. before* came
canc. before That
 before Seynt
 32 w^t *canc. before* Thus

16 Solomplest] *e written over y*
 21 hyng *canc. after* byfore; hyme *interl.*; the *canc.*
 28 sees *canc. before* Sees; nyght] *MS. nyght/*
 33 nobilitie/ Than] *MS. nobilitie* Than

his noble men and gentlemen in to his privye chamber/ where
they beyng assembled sayd vnto them in thys wyse in effect/
I haue (q^d he) called you hether to thys entent to declare vnto
you/ that I consyderyng the dyligence that ye mynyster vnto me/
And the good wyll that I bere you agayn for the same entendyng 5
to remember yo^r dyligent seruyce here after in place where ye
shall receyve condygn thanks & rewardes/ And also I wold shewe
you ferther what Auctorytie I haue receyved directly from the
kynges highnes/ And to enstruct you somewhat of the nature of
the ffrenche men/ And then to enforme you what reuerence ye 10
shall vse vnto me for the highe honour of the kynges mat^{ie}/ And
also howe ye shall entertayn the ffrenchemen whan so euer ye
shall mete at any tyme/ **ffyrste**/ ye shall vnderstand that the
kynges mat^{ie} vppon certyn waytie consideracions hathe for the
more avaunceme^t of his Royall dignytie assigned me in this 15
Iourney to be his lieutenaunt generall/ And what reuerence
belongythe to the same I wyll tell you/ That for my part I must
by vertue of my commyssion of leutenauntshipe Assume & take
vppon me in all honour and degrees to haue all suche seruyce &
reuerence as to his hyghnes presence is mete & dewe/ And 20
nothyng therof to be neclected or omytted by me that to his
Royall estat is appurtenaunt/ And for my part ye shall se me that
I will not omyt oon lote/ therof/ Therfore bycause ye shall not
be Ignoraunt in that behalf/ ys oon of thespecyall causis of this
yo^r assemble wylllyng and commaund you as ye entend my 25
faueur/ not to forgett the same in tyme & place but euery of you
do obserue thys enformacion & Instruccion/ as ye woll at my
retorne avoyd the kynges Indignacion but to opteyn his highnes
thanks the we^{che} I wyll further for you as ye shall deserue
[f. 27] Nowe to the poynt of the frenche mens nature/ ye shall 30
vnderstand that ther disposicion is suche/ that they wylbe at the
first metyng as ffamylier w^t you as they had byn acquayntyd w^t
you long byfore and commyn w^t you in the frenche tong as
thoughe ye vnderstode euery word they spoke/ therfore in lyke
maner/ and be ye as famylier w^t them agayn as they be w^t you/ 35
yf they speke to you in the ffrenche tong speke you to them in the

15 his *interl.*; hathe *canc. before* assigned

21 me *with e written over y*

canc. before me

21-22 that to his *canc. before* Royall

23 I will

not *interl.*

29 shall *interl.*

35 ye *interl.*

- Englysshe tong for if you vnderstand not them/ they shall no
 more vnderstand you/ And my lord spekyng merely to oon of the
 gentlemen there (beyng a welsheman) sayd Rice/ q^d he/ speke
 thou welshe to hyme/ And I ame well assured that thy welshe
 5 shall be more defuse to hyme/ than his frenche shall be to the/
 And than/ q^d he agayn to vs all/ lett all yo^r entertaynme^t &
 behauor be accordyng to all gentilnes & humanytie/ that it may
 be reportyd after yo^r departure frome thence/ that ye be
 gentlemen of right good hauour And of myche gentilnes/ And
 10 that ye be men that knowyth yo^r dewtie to yo^r souerayn lord
 & to yo^r mayster/ Allowyng myche yo^r great Reuerence/ 'Thus
 shall ye nott oonly optayn to yo^r selves great commendacion &
 prayce for the same/ but also auance the honour of yo^r prynce
 & contrie/ Nowe goo yo^r wayes admonysshed of all thes poyntes/
 15 And prepare yo^r selves ayenst to morowe/ ffor than we entend
 (god wylling) to sett forward/ And thus we beyng by hyme
 Instructed & enformed departed to our lodgynges makyng all
 thynges in a redynes ayenst the next day/ to auance forthe w^t
 my lord/
 20 **The next morowe** beyng Marie Magdalens day all thynges
 beyng ffurnysshed my lord Cardynall Roode owt of Calice w^t
 suche a number of blake veluett Coottes as hathe not byn seen
 w^t an Ambassitor/ All the speres of Calice, Gynnes, and hamnes
 ware there attendyng vppon hyme in this Iourney in blake
 25 veluett Cootes many great & massy Chaynnes of gold ware
 worne there/ thus passed he forthe w^t iij^{re} Gentilmen in a ranke
 w^{che} occupied the lengthe of iij^{re} quarters of a myle or more/
 hauyng all his accustomed and [f. 27^v] gloryous furnytüre caried
 byfore hyme evyn as I before haue rehersed excepte the brode
 30 seale the w^{che} was left w^t doctor Tayllour in Calice than M^r of
 the Rolles vntill his retorne/ passyng thus on his way And beyng
 skant a myle of his Iourney it began to rayn so vehemently that
 I haue not seen the lyke for the tyme/ that endured vntill we
 came to Bulloyn/ And or we came to Sandyngfeld/ the Cardynall

5 be *canc. before* be to 5-6 the/ And] *MS. the* And 6 all/ lett]
MS. all lett 10 of *canc. before* that knowyth 16 forward/And] *MS.*
 forward And; beyng *canc. before* beyng 24 the *canc. before* hyme
 28 and] a *written over* g 30 m^r *canc. before* doctor 33 w^{che}
 was *canc. before* vntill 34 Bulloyn *canc. before* Bulloyn

of lorryayn a goodly yong gentelman encountered my lord And
 receyved hyme w^t great reuerence & Ioy And so passed forthe
 together vntill they came to Sandyngheld w^{che} is a place of
 Religion standyng bytween the frenche Englyshe & themprors
 domynyons beyng newter holdyng of nether of theme/ And 5
 beyng come thether/ met w^t hyme there le Countie Brian
 Capteyn of Pykardy w^t a great nomber of men of Armez as
 Stradiates and Arbanoyes w^t other standyng in array in a great
 pece of Oates all in harnoyes vppon light horsis passyng w^t my
 lord as it ware in a wyng all his Iourney thoroughe Pykkardy/ 10
 ffor my lord Somewhat doughted the Emprour lest he wold lay
 an Ambusshe to betray hyme/ ffor w^{che} cause the frenche kyng
 commaundyd theme to awayte vppon my lord for the
 Assuraunce of hys person owt of the daynger of his ennemyes/
 Thus Roode he accompanyd vntill he came to the town of 15
 Bolleyn/ where he was encountered wⁱⁿ a myle therof w^t the
 worshypfullest Citezyns of the Town hauyng among them a
 learned man that made to hyme an Oracion in latten/ vnto the
 w^{che} my lord made answeare semblably in latten/ And that don
 Monsur de Bees Capteyn of Bolloyn w^t the Retynewe there of 20
 gentilmen mett hyme on horsebake w^{che} conveyed hyme in to
 the towen w^t all this assemble vntill he came to the Abbey gate
 where he lighted and went directly in to the Church and made
 hys prayers byfore the Image of our lady to whome he made
 his offeryng/ And that don he gave there his blessing to the 25
 people w^t certyn dayes of pardon/ than went he in to the abbey
 where he was lodged and hys trayn ware lodged in the highe &
 basse townes// [f. 28] **The next mornyng**/ after he hard masse
 he rode vnto Muterell sur la mere where he was encountered in
 lyke case as he was the day byfore w^t the worshypfullest of the 30
 town all in oon lyuere hauyng oon learned that made an oracion
 byfore hyme in laten whome he answered in lyke maner in laten
 And as he entred in to the town there was a Canapie of sylke
 enbrodred w^t the letters & hatte that was on ther seruantes
 Cottis borne ouer hyme w^t the most persons of estymacion w^t 35

10 Ioy *canc. before* Iourney 14 person *canc. before* ennemyes 15 w^t *canc. before* vntill
 22 town *canc. before* towen
 offeryng *interl.*; offered *canc. after* offeryng 26 he in *canc. before* he
 27 b. d *canc. after* trayn 35 persons *interl.*

in the town/ And whan he was alighted his footmen seased the
 same as a fee dewe to ther office/ nowe was there made dyuers
 paiauntes for Ioy of hys Commyng/ who was called there and in
 all other places w^t in the Realme of ffraunce as he travelled/ (le
 5 Cardynall pacyfike) And in laten (Cardynallis pacificus) who
 was accompaned all that nyght w^t dyuers worthy gentilmen of
 the Contrie there about/ The next day he Roode towards
 Abvyle/ where he was encountred w^t dyuers gentilmen of the
 Town & Contrie And so conveyed vnto the town where he was
 10 most honorably receyved w^t paiauntes of dyuers kyndes
 wyttely & Costly Invented standyng in euery Corner of the
 strettes as he roode thoroughe the town/ hauyng a lyke Cannapie
 borne ouer hyme beyng of more richer sort than the other at
 Mutterell or at bolleyn was/ They brought hyme to hys
 15 lodgyng w^{che} was as it semed a very fayer howsse newly bylt w^t
 brykke/ At w^{che} howsse kyng lowice maried my lady mary kyng
 herre the viijth Sister w^{che} was after maried to the Duke of
 Suffolk Charles Brandon/ And beyng wⁱⁿ yt was in maner of a
 Gallery/ yet notw^tstandyng it was very necessary/ In thys
 20 howsse my lord remayned other viijth or x^{en} dayes/ to whome
 resorted daly dyuers of the Councell of ffraunce/ feastyng theme
 & other noble men & gentilmen that accompaned the Councell
 bothe at Dyners and Soppers/ Than whan the tyme came that
 he shuld depart frome thence he roode to a Castell beyond the
 25 water of Somme called Pynkney castell adioynyng vnto the seyde
 watter standyng vpon a great rokke or hyll wⁱⁿ the w^{che} was a
 goodly Collage of prestes [f. 28^v] the Cituacion wherof was most
 lyke vnto the Castell of wyndesore in Englund And there he was
 receyved w^t a Solompne procession conveyng hyme fyrst in to
 30 the Chirche/ And after vnto his logyng wⁱⁿ the Castell/
At thys castell kyng Edward the iiijth met w^t the ffrenche kyng
 vpon the bryge that goyth ouer the water of Somme/ as ye may
 red in the Cronycles of Englund/ whan my lord was settiled
 wⁱⁿ his logyng/ it was reported vnto me that the ffrenche kyng
 35 shold come that day in to Amyens w^{che} was wⁱⁿ vjth Englysshe

4 he *canc. before* (le
 In] *MS. necessary* In

19 very *canc. before* very; very *interl.*; necessary/
 25 le chatu *canc. before* Pynkney 33 Cro
canc. before Cronycles; Englund/ whan] *MS. Englund* whan; lord was *interl.*
 35 come *interl.*

myles of Pynkkney Castell/ And beyng desirous to se his first
 commyng in to the town Axed licence And toke w^t me oon or
 too gentilmen of my lordes And rood in contynent thether/ As
 well to provyde me of a necessary lodgyng as to se the kyng/ And
 whan we came thether beyng but strayngers toke vppe our Inne 5
 (for the tyme) at the signe of the Ayngell dyrectly ayenst the
 west doore of the Cathederall Church de notre dame saynt
 Marye/ And after we had dyned there and tarieng vntill iij^{re} or
 iiij^{or} of cloke expectyng the kynges Commyng/ In came Madame
 Regent (the kynges mother) Ridyng in a very riche Charyott and 10
 in the same w^t hir was hir doughter the Quene of Naver fur-
 nysshed w^t an Cth ladys or gentilwomen or more folowyng/
 ridyng vppon whight Palfrayes ouer & besides dyuers other
 ladys & gentillwomen that roode some in riche chariottes and
 Some in horsse litters/ who lighted at the west doore w^t all this 15
 trayn accompaned w^t many other noble men & gentilmen
 besides hir gard w^{che} was not small in nomber/ than w^t in ij
 howers after the kyng came in to the town w^t a great shott of
 Gonnys/ And dyuers paiauntes made for the nons at the kynges
 (byen venewe) hauyng abought his person bothe byfore hyme and 20
 byhynd hyme/ beside the wonderfull nomber of nobyll men &
 gentilmen iij^{re} great Gardes dyuersly apparelled/ the first was of
 Souches and Burgonyons/ w^t Gonnes & halfe hakkes/ The
 second was of ffrenche men some w^t bowes and Arrowes/ and
 some w^t bylles/ The iij^{de} Gard was pur le corps w^{che} was of tall 25
 Scottes myche moore comlier persons than all the rest/ The
 ffrenche gard & the Scottes had all oon lyuere w^{che} ware riche
 Coottes of fynne wyght clothe w^t a gard of Syluer bullyons
 enbrodred an handfull brode/ [f. 29] The kyng Came Ridyng
 vppon a goodly Genett/ And lighted at the west doore of the 30
 sayd Chirche and so conveyed in to the Chirche vppe to the
 highe Aulter where he made his prayers vppon his knees And
 than conveyed in to the bysshoppes palleyes where he was
 lodged and also his mother/ The next mornyng I roode agayn to
 Pynkney to attend vppon my lord at w^{che} tyme my lord was 35
 redy to take hys mule towards Amyens/ And passyng on his

9 Royall *canc.* after came 12 first or] *written over* & 21 men *interl.*
 23 hakkes/ The] *MS.* hakkes The 28 syluer *canc.* before a 34 Pyk
canc. after to

Journey thetherward he was encontered frome place to place
w^t dyuers noble & worthy personages making to hym dyuers
oracions in latten/ to whome he made answeare agayn ex tempore/
At whos excellent learnyng & pregnant witt they wondred very

5 myche///

Than was word brought my lord that the kyng was commyng
to encounter hym/ w^t that he hauyng none other shifte
was compelled to allyght in an old Chappell (that stode by
the highe way) and there newly apparellled hym in to more
10 Richer apparell/ And than mounted vppon a newe Mewle very
richely trapped w^t a foote clothe & trapper of Crymmesyn
veluett vppon veluett pirlde w^t gold and frynged abought w^t a
depe frynge of gold very costly his stirropes of siluer and gylt
the bosses & chekes of his brydell of the same/ And be that tyme
15 that he was mounted agayn after this most gorgious sort/ the
kyng was come very nere/ w^t in lesse than a quarter of a myle
englysshe/ mustryng vppon an hill side his gard standyng in a
ray along the same/ expectyng my lordes Commyng/ To whome
my lord made as myche hast as convenyently it became hym
20 vntill he came w^t in a payer of butt lengthes/ And there he
stayed a whyle/ the kyng perceyvyng that stode still & hauyng
ij worthy gentilmen yong & lusty beyng bothe brethern and
brethern to the Duke of lorryn & to the Cardynall of lorryn/
wherof oon of theme was called monsur de Gwees and thother
25 monsur Vademount/ they ware bothe apparellled lyke the kyng
in [f. 29v] Purpull veluett lyned w^t clothe of Syluer and ther
Cottes cutt/ the kyng caused mounsur vademount to issue
frome hym And to ride vnto my lord to knowe the cause of his
tractyng who roode vppon a fayer Courser takyng his race in a
30 full gallope evyn vntill he came vnto my lord And there cawsed
his horsse to come a loft oons or twyse so nye my lordes mewle
that he was in dowght of his horsse/ And w^t that he lighted
frome his Courser And doyng his message to my lord w^t
humble reuerence/ w^{che} don he mounted agayn And caused his
35 horsse to do the same at his departyng As he did byfore And so
repayed agayn to the kyng/ And after his answeare made/ the

11 *two indecipherable letters canc. before trapped*; Crymmesyn MS. Crynmesyn

15 *sort canc. before sort*

16 *w^t interl.*

21 *t canc. after that*

27 *ca canc. before caused*

36 *endyd canc. before made; made interl.*

kyng auauenced forward/ that seyng my lord did the lyke/ And
in the mydway they mett enbracyng eche other on horsbake w^t
most amyable countenaunce entertaynyng eche other right
nobly/ then drewe in to the place all noble men & gentilmen on
bothe sides w^t wonderfull chere made oon to an other as they 5
had byn of an old acquayntaunce/ the prece was suche and
thyke that dyuers had ther legges hurt w^t horsysse/ Than the
kynges officers cried/ marche/ marche devaunt/ Ale devaunt/
And the kyng & my lord Cardynall (on his right hand) Roode
together to Amyens euery Englysshe gentilman accompanyd 10
w^t an other of ffraunce/ The trayn of ffranche & Englysshe
endured ij long myles/ that is to sey/ frome the place of ther
encounter vnto Amyens/ where they ware very nobly receyved
w^t shott of Gonnes and Costly paiauntes vntill the kyng had
brought my lord to his logyng and there departed a sonder for 15
that nyght/ the kyng beyng lodged in the bysshoppes palice/ The
next day after dynner my lord w^t a great trayn of noble men &
gentillmen of Englund rode vnto the kynges Court at w^{che} tyme
the kyng kept his bed beyng somewhat diseased/ yet not-
w^tstandyng my lord came in to his bed Chamber/ where satt on 20
theon side of his bed his mother madam Regent/ And on thother
sid the Cardynall of lorryn w^t dyuers other noblemen of
ffraunce/ And after a short commynycacion and drynkyng of a
Cuppe of wyn w^t the kynges mother/ my lord departed agayn
to hys lodgyng accompanyd w^t dyuers gentilmen & noble men 25
of ffraunce who supped w^t hyme/ Thus contynued the kyng & my
lord in Amyens the space of ij wekes & more consultancyng &
feastyng eche other dyuers tymes [f. 30] And in the feast of the
Assumpcion of our ladye my lord Roose betymes & went to the
Cathederall chirche/ de noster dame/ and there byfore my lady 30
regent and the quen of Naver in our lady chappell he sayd his
seruyce & masse and after masse he hymself mynystred the
Sacreme^t vnto bothe my lady Regent & to the quene of Naver/
And that don the kyng resortyd vnto the chirche and was

3 entennyng *canc. before* entertaynyng; entertaynyng *interl.* 6 acquayn-
taunce] *MS.* acquaytaunce 7 horsysse/ Than] *MS.* horsysse Than
9 hade *canc. before* hand 13 Amyens] s *written over* ce 18 rode *interl.*
19 somewhat diseased *interl.*; syke *canc. before* / yet 23 ffraunce]
MS. ffraunce 28 dyuers] *MS.* dyuer 32 hymself *interl.*

conveyed in to a riche Travers At the highe Aulters end and
 dyrectly ayenst hyme on the other side of the Aulter sat my lord
 Cardynall in an other Riche trauers iij^{re} gresis hyer than the
 kynges And At the aulter byfore theme bothe a bysshope sang
 5 hye masse And at the ffraccion of the host the same bysshope
 deuyded the Sacrame^t bytween the kyng and the Cardynall for
 the performance of the peace concludyd bytween theme/ w^{che}
 masse was song solompnly by the kynges Chappell hauyng
 among theme Cornettes and Sakbuttes And after masse was
 10 don the Troppeters blewe in the Roodeloft vntill the kyng was
 past inward to his lodgyng owt of the chirche And at his
 commyng in to the bysshoppes palice where he entendyd to dyne
 w^t my lord Cardynall/ there satt w^t in a Closter abought ij^c
 parsons diseased w^t the kynges evyll (vppon ther knees) And
 15 the kyng or euer he went to dynner pervsed euery of theme w^t
 robberyng and blessing them w^t his bare handes beyng barehedyd
 all the while/ after whome folowed his Almosyner distributyng of
 mony vnto the persons diseased/ & that done he sayd certyn
 prayers ouer theme and than whasht his handes & so came vppe
 20 into his Chamber to dynner/ where as my lord dyned w^t hyme///
Than yt was determyned that the kyng and my lord shold
 remove owt of Amyens/ And so they did to a towne or Citie
 called Compygne w^{che} was more than xx^{ti} Englysshe myles
 frome thence/ vnto w^{che} towen I was sent to prepare my lordes
 25 lodgyng/ And so as I rode on my Iourney beyng vppon a ffriday
 my horse chaunced to cast a shoo in a littill village where stode
 a fayer Castell/ and as it chaunced ther dwelte a smythe to
 whome I commaundyd my seruauant to carry my horsse to shoo
 and standyng by hyme while my horsse was a shoyng there
 30 came to me [f. 30^v] oon of the seruauantes of the Castell per-
 ceuyvng me to be the Cardynalles seruauant and an Englysheman/
 who requyred me to goo w^t hyme in to the Castell to my lord
 his m^r/ whome he thought wold be very glad of my commyng

2 ayenst *interl.*; byfore *canc.* before hyme 3 Cardynall] *final* I
 frayed away at edge of page 8 Chapley *canc.* before Chappell; have
canc. after Chappell; hauyng *interl.* 11 h *canc.* before lodgyng 13 *second* w^t
interl. 14 disea *canc.* before diseased 16 ha *canc.* before
 bare 18 diseased *interl.*; diseased *canc.* after diseased 25 lodgeng
canc. before lodgyng 27 where in dwelt with in *interl.* *canc.*
 before and

& company/ to whose request I grauntyd by cause that I was
allwayes desirous to se and be acquaynted w^t strayngers
inespecyall w^t men in honour and Auctorytie/ So I went w^t hyme/
who conducted me vnto the Castell And beyng entred in the
first ward/ the watchemen of that ward beyng very honest tall 5
men came & saluted me most reuerently/ And knowyng the
cause of my commyng/ desired me to stay a littill while vntill they
had aduertised my lord ther m^t/ of my beyng there/ And so I
dyd/ And incontynent the lord of the Castell came owt to me/
who was called monsur Creekey a noble man borne and very 10
nyghe of bloode to kyng lowice the last kyng that raygned byfore
this kyng ffraunces/ And at his first commyng he enbraced me/
Sayeng that I was right hartely welcome/ And thanked me that
I so gently wold visit hyme & his Castell/ sayeng furthermore
that he was preparyng to encounter the kyng & my lord to desier 15
them most humbly the next day to take his castell in the way/ if
he could so entret theme And trewe it is that he was redy to ride
in a Coote of veluett w^t a payer of veluett Armyng shoos on his
ffeete and a payer of gilt sporres on his heles/ Than he toke me
by the hand and most gentlye led me in to his Castell thorough 20
an other ward/ And beyng oons entred in to the base Court of the
Castell I sawe all his ffamely and howshold seruauntes standyng
in goodly order in blake Cootes and Gownnes lyke morners
who led me in to the hall w^{che} was hanged w^t handgonnes as
thyke as oon cowlde hang by an other vppon the walles/ And in 25
the hall stode also an haukes perke wheron stode iij^{re} or iiij^{or}
fayer goshalkes/ than went we in to the parlour w^{che} was hanged
w^t fynne old Arras/ And beyng there but a while commonyng
together of my lorde of Suffolk howe he was there to haue
beseged the same/ his seruauntes brought to hyme brede & wyne 30
of dyuers sortes/ wherof he caused me to drynke/ And after/ q^d
he/ I will shewe you the strengthe of my howsse howe herd it
wold haue byn for my lord of Suffolk to haue wonne it/ than
led he me vppon [f. 31] the walles w^{che} was very strong more
than xv^{en} foote thyke/ And as well garnysshed w^t batere peces 35

1 company/ to] *MS.* company to

3 Auctorytie/ So] *MS.* Auctorytie

So 11 of *canc.* before nyghe; of *interl.*; the *canc.* after of 17 he *canc.*

after is; was *canc.* before that 31 sortes *canc.* before sortes; he *canc.*

after after 35 as *interl.*

of ordynaunce redy charged to shoot of/ ayenst the kyng
 and my lordes Commyng/ whan he had shewed me all the
 walles & bulwarkes About the Castell/ he dissendyd frome the
 walles and came down in to a fayer Inner Court where his Genyt
 5 stooode for to mount vppon w^t xijth other Genettes the most
 fayrest bestes that euer I sawe/ And in especyall his owen w^{che}
 was a mare genett/ he shewed me that he myght haue had for hir
 iiij^c Crownnes/ but vppon the other xijth genettes ware mounted
 xij goodly yong gentilmen called pages of honor all bare hedyd
 10 in Coottes of Clothe of gold & blake veluett clokked and on ther
 legges bootes of red Spaynysshe lether And spurres parcell
 gylt/ Then he toke his leave of me commaundyng his Steward
 & other his gentilmen to attend vppon me/ And conducte me
 vnto my lady his wyfe to dynner/ And that don he mounted
 15 vppon his genett/ And toke his Iourney forthe owt of his
 castell And than the Steward w^t the rest of the gentilmen led me
 vppe in to a tower in the gathowsse where than my lady ther
 mastresse lay for the tyme that the kyng & my lord shold tary
 there/ I beyng in A fayer great dynyng chamber where the table
 20 was Couered to dynner/ And there I attendyng my lades
 Commyng/ And after she came thether owt of hir owen chamber
 she receyved me most gently lyke an noble estate hauyng a
 trayn of xij gentilwomen/ And whan she w^t hir trayn came all
 owt/ she sayd to me/ ffor as myche/ q^d she/ as ye be an Englysshe
 25 man whos Custumet^t is in yo^r Contrie to kys all ladyes and
 gentilwomen w^tout offence/ And althoughe it be not so here in
 this Realme/ yet woll I be so bold to kys you & so shall all my
 maydens/ by means wherof I kyst my lady & all hir women/ then
 went she to hir dynner beyng as nobly serued/ as I haue seen
 30 any of hir estat here in Englund/ hauyng all the dynner tyme
 w^t me pleasaunt commynycacion w^{che} was of the vsage &
 behauour of our gentilwomen & gentilmen of Englund/ And
 comendyd myche the behauour of them right [f. 31^v] ex-
 cellently/ ffor she was w^t the kyng at Arde when the great
 35 encounter & meatyng was between the ffrenche kyng & the kyng

6 bestes *canc. before* bestes17 to *canc. before* to

21 owt

canc. before thether23 came *interl.*25 Cu *canc. before* Custumet^t27 real *canc. before* Realme; do *canc. before* all28 wherof *interl.*

31 ple

canc. before pleasaunt32 of *canc. before* &34 A *canc. before* Arde

our souerayn lord at w^{che} tyme she was bothe for hir person &
goodly hauour appoynted to company w^t the ladys of England/
And to be short after dynner/ pausynge a littill I toke my leave
of hir & so departed & roode on my Iourney//

I passyd so forth/ on my Iourney/ by reason of my tractynge of 5
tyme in Chastell de Crykkey that I was constrained that nyght
to lye in a town by the way called Montdedyer/ the Suburbes
wherof my lord of Suffolk hade lately burnd/ And in the next
mornyng I toke my Iourney and came to Compign vppon the
Saturday than beyng there the markett day/ And at my first 10
Commyng I toke my Inne in the myddes of the market place
and beyng there sett at dynner in a fayer Chamber that had a
fayer wyndowe loking in to the streett I hard a great Rumour
and clatterynge of bylles/ w^t that I loked owt in to the strett/ And
there I espied where the officers of the town brought a prysoner 15
to execucion/ whos hed they strak of w^t a sword/ And whan I
demaunded the cause of his offence/ yt was answered me/ that
it was for kyllyng of a rede dere in the fforrest thereby the
punyshement wherof is but deathe/ Incontynent they had sett
vppe the poore mans hed vppon a pole in the markett place 20
bytwen the stagges hornes/ and his quarters in iiij^{or} partes of the
fforrest/ Than went I abought to prepare my lordes lodgyng &
to se it furnyshed w^{che} was there in the great Castell of the
town/ wherof to my lord was assigned theon halfe and thether
half was reserued for the kyng/ and in lyke wyse there was a long 25
Gallery devyded bytween theme/ wherin was made in the
myddes therof a strong wall w^t a doore & wyndowe/ And there
the kyng & my lord wold many tymes mete at the same wyndowe
and secretly talke togethers & dyuers tymes they wold goo
theon to the tother at the seyd doore/ Nowe was there lodged 30
also madame Regent the kynges mother and all hir trayn of
ladys & gentillwomen/ vnto w^{che} place the Chauncelor of
ffraunce came (a very witty man) w^t all the kynges grave

6 my *canc.* before tyme; that *interl.* before I 7 to lye *interl.* 9 mornyng
interl. 10 than *interl.*; the *interl.*; than *canc.* before markett 11 n *canc.*
after my 13 Ret . . . or *canc.* after great 17 demaunded]
MS. demand; ar *canc.* before answered 21 hed *canc.* after stagges
27 therof *canc.* before therof 28 secretly *canc.* before mete 29 take
canc. before secretly; wold *interl.* 30 a single indecipherable letter *canc.*
before the tother 31 also *canc.* before also

councillers/ who toke great paynnes dayly in Consultacion/ In
 so myche as I hard my lord Cardynall fall owt w^t the Chauncelor
 layeng vnto his charge that he went about [f. 32] to hynder the
 leage w^{che} my sayd lord Cardynall hade byfore his commyng
 5 concludyd bytween the king our souerayn lord & the ffrenche
 kyng his m^r In so myche that my lord stomaked the matter very
 stoutly/ And told hyme that it shold not lie in his power to dis-
 solve the amyable ffidelitie bytween them/ And if his mayster the
 kyng beyng there present forsake his promyse & followe his
 10 Councell he shold not fayle/ after his retourne in to Englund/ to
 feale the smarte/ and what a thyng it is to breake promys w^t the
 kyng of Englund/ wherof he shold be well assured/ and ther w^t
 all he arose & went in to his owen lodgyng wondersly offendyd/
 So that his stowte Countenaunce and bold wordes made them all
 15 in dowght howe to pacyefie hys displeasure & revoke hyme
 agayn to the Councell who was then departyd in a furey/ there
 was sendyng/ there was commyng/ there was also entreatyng/
 And there was great submyssion made to hyme to reduce hyme
 to his former frendly commynycacion/ who wold in no wyse
 20 relent/ vntill madame Regent came hir self/ who handelled the
 matter so discretly & wittely that she reconsild hyme to his
 former commynycacion/ And by that means he brought ther
 matters to passe that byfore he cowlde not atteyne nor cause the
 Councell to graunt/ w^{che} was more for feare than for any
 25 affection to the matter/ he hade the hedes of all the Councell so
 vnder his gyrdell that he myght ruell them all there as well as he
 myght the Councell of Englund/ the next mornyng after this
 conflycte he roose earely in the mornyng aboutt iiij^{or} of the
 Clocke/ syttyng down to wright letters in to England vnto the
 30 kyng commaundyng oon of his Chapleyns to prepare hyme to
 masse/ in so myche that his seyde chapleyn stode reuested vntill
 iiij^{or} of the Clocke at after none/ All w^{che} season my lorde neuer
 roose oons to pis/ ne yet to eate any meate but contynually wrott
 his letters w^t his owen handes/ hauyng all that tyme his nyght

4 hade byfore] *MS.* hade/ byfore 10-11 to *interl. before* feale 11 and
interl. 17 was commyng] *MS.* was/ commyng; was also *interl.*
 18 first hyme *interl.* 19 hys *canc. before* his 23 vi *canc. before* nor
 31 er *canc. between the u and e* of reuested 33 contynually] *MS.*
 contynally

Cappe & keuercheffe on his hed/ And abought iiij^{or} of the Clocke
 at after none he made an end of writtyng Commaundynge oon
 Cristofer Gonner the kynges seruauant to prepare hyme w^{out}
 delay to ride empost in to Englonde w^t his letters/ whome he
 dispeched a way or euer he [f. 32^v] dranke/ And that don he went 5
 to masse/ and sayd his other dyvyn seruyce w^t his Chappelleyne
 as he was accustomed to do/ and than went strait in to a garden/
 and after he had walked the space of an hower or more And
 there sayd his evyn song/ he went to dynner & Sopper all at
 oons/ And makynge a small repast/ he went to his bed to take his 10
 rest for that nyght/ The next nyght folowyng he caused a great
 Supper to be provyded for madame Regent and the quen of
 Naverne and other great estates of ladyes & noble women/ there
 was also madam Reigne/ oon of the daughters of kyng lewyce
 whos Syster kyng ffraunces had married (latly deade) thes sisters 15
 ware by ther mother enheritrices of the duchye of Bryttayn/
 And for as myche as the kyng had married oon of the Systers by
 whome he had the moytie of the sayd Duchie And to attayn
 thother moytie/ And to be lord of the hole/ he kepthe the sayd
 lady Reygnye w^{out} mariage entendynge that she hauyng non 20
 Issue that the hole duchye myght dissend to hyme or to his
 succession after hir deathe for want of yssue of hir body/ But
 nowe lett vs retorne agayn to the Supper or rather a Solompne
 bankett/ where all thes nobyll persons ware hyghly feasted/ And
 in the myddes of ther tryhumphe the ffrenche kyng w^t the kyng 25
 of Naverne came sodenly in vppon them onknowen/ who toke
 ther places at the nether end of the table/ there was not oonly
 plenty of ffynne meates/ but also myche myrthe and Solace/ as
 well in commynycacion as in instrumentes of musyke setforthe
 w^t my lordes mynstrelles/ who played there so Connyngly & 30
 dulce all that nyght that the kyng toke therin great pleasure/ In
 so myche that he desired my lord to lend theme vnto hyme the
 next nyght/ And after Supper & bankett ffynysshed the ladys &
 gentilwomen went to dauncyng/ Among whome oon madame
 ffountayn a mayd had the price/ And thus passed they the nyght 35

7 to d *canc. before* in 12 be *interl.*
 ladyes; women/ there] *MS.* women there
 19 so *canc. before* to 21 that *interl.*
 28 plenty *interl.*

13 noble *canc. before*
 15 kyng *canc. before* whos
 24 feasted] *MS.* feaster

in plesaunt myrthe & Ioye/ the next day the kyng toke my lordes mynstrelles and Roode vnto a noble mans howsse where was some goodly Image that he had avowed a Pilgrymage vnto/ to performe his devocion whan he came there he daunced &
 5 other w^t hyme the most part of that nyght my lordes mynstrelles played there so excellently all that nyght that the Shalme (whether it ware w^t extreme labor of blowyng or w^t poysonyng (as some Iuged) by cause they ware more commendyd & accepted w^t the kyng than his owen) I cannot tell but he that
 10 played the Shalme (an excellent man in that art) died w^t in a day or twayn after [f. 33]

Then the kyng Retorned agayn vnto Compigne/ And caused a wyld boore to be lodgyd for hyme in the fforrest/ there whether my lord Roode w^t the kyng to the huntynge of the wyld Swyne
 15 wⁱⁿ a Toyle where the lady Regent stode in Charyottes or waggans lokyng ouer the toylle on the owtsyde therof accompanyd w^t many ladyes & dameselles/ among whome my lord stode by the lady Regent to regard & behold the pastyme/ & maner of huntynge/ there was wⁱⁿ the toyle dyuers goodly
 20 gentillmen w^t the kyng redy garnysshed to this hyghe enterprice and dayngerous huntynge of the perellous wyld Swyne/ the kyng beyng in his dublett & hosyn oonly w^{out} any other garm^{tes} all of shupes Colour clothe his hosyn frome the kne vppward was altogether thrommed w^t sylke very thyke of the
 25 same Colour havynge in a slipe a fayer brace of grette wyhight greyhoundes Armed as the maner is to arme ther greyhoundes frome the violence of the boores tuskes/ And all the rest of the kynges gentilmen beyng appoynted to hunt this boore ware lykewyse in ther dublettes & hosyn holdyng eche of them in ther
 30 handes a very sharpe boores spere/ the kyng beyng thus furnesshed commaunded the huntres to oncouche the boore/ And that euery other person shold goo to a standyng/ among whome ware dyuers gentilmen & yomen of Englonde/ And incontynent the boore issued owt of his denne/ chaced w^t an hound in to the
 35 playn/ And beyng there/ stalled a while gasyng vpon the

3 some *interl.*; some *canc.* after avowed; a *interl.*
 devocion; vowed *canc.* before whan
 nyght that

7 poysonyng *canc.* after or
 33 Englonde/ And] *MS.* Englonde And

4 he *canc.* after
 6 he *interl.* and *canc.* after
 27 k *canc.* after rest of

people/ And incontynent/ beyng forced by the hound he espied
a littill busse standyng vppon a banke ouer a dicke vnder the
w^{che} lay ij gentilmen of ffraunce/ And thether fled the boore to
defend hym thrustyng his hede snoffyng in to the same bushe
where thes ij gentilmen lay/ who fled w^t suche spede as men do 5
frome the daynger of deathe/ 'Than was the boore by violence &
pursewt of the hound & huntres dryvyn frome thence And ran
strayt to oon of my lordes footmen a very comly person & an
hardy who hild in his hand an Englysshe Iavelen w^t the w^{che} he
was fayn to defend hymself frome the fierce assault of the 10
boore/ who foyned at hym continually w^t his great tuskes/
wherby he was compelled at the last to pytche his Iavelen/ [f. 33^v]
in the Grownd bytween hym & the boore/ the w^{che} the boore
breke w^t his force of foynyng/ And w^t that the yoman drewe his
sword And stode at defence/ And w^t that the huntres came to the 15
rescue/ And put hym oons agayn to flight/ w^t that he fled & ran
to an other yong gentylman of England Called m^r Ratclyfe
Sonne & heyer to the lord ffitzwalter and after Erle of Sussex/
who by chaunce had borrowed of a ffrenche gentilman a fynne
boore spere very sharpe/ vppon whome (the boore beyng sore 20
chaffed) began to assault very egerly/ And the yong gentilman
delyuerly Avoyned his strokkes and in tornyng abought/ he
stroke the boore w^t suche violence w^t the same speere (that he
had borrowed) vppon the howghes/ that he cutt the Senowes of
bothe his legges at oon stroke that the boore was constrayned to 25
sitt down vppon his haunches and defend hym self for he
cowlid goo no more/ thys gentilman perceyvyng than his most
aduauntage/ thrust his speere in to the boore vnder the sholder
vppe to the hart/ And thus he slewe the great boore/
wherfore among the noble men of ffraunce it was reputed to be 30
oon of the noblest enterprises that a man myght do/ (As
thoughe he had slayn a man of Armez)/ And thus our m^r
Ratclyfe bare than a way the price of that feacte of huntynge this
dayngerous & Royall pastyme in kyllyng of the wyld boore/
whoos tuskes the ffrenche men dothe most comenly dought 35

2 littill *interl.*

6 deathe/ Than] *MS.* deathe 'Than

8 co *canc.*

before comly

11 .rul *canc.* before great

13 bo *canc.* after & the

24 be *canc.* after cutt

30 it was reputed *interl.*

33 t *canc.* before

than

34 h *canc.* before pastyme

above all other dayngers as it semed to vs englyshe men than
beyng present/

In thys tyme of my lordes beyng in ffraunce ouer & besides
his noble entertaynment w^t the kyng & nobles/ he susteyned
5 dyuers displeasures of the ffranche slaves/ that devised a certyn
boke w^{che} was setforthe in dyuers articles vppon the causis of my
lordes beyng there/ w^{che} shold be as they surmysed/ that my
lord was come thether to conclude too mariages/ theon bytween
the kyng our souerayn lord And madame Reygne of whome I
10 spake hertofore/ And an other bytween the prynces than of
England (Nowe beyng quene of this reallme my lady marye/ the
kynges doughter/) And the frenche kynges second Sonne the
duke of Orlyauce who ys at this present kyng [f. 34] of ffraunce/
w^t dyuers other conclusions and agrementes touchyng the same/
15 of thes boke many ware Imprynted & conveyed in to Englund
vnknownen to my lord beyng than in fraunce/ to the great
slaunder of the Realme of Englund & of my lord Cardynall/
but whether they ware devysed of pollecy to pacefie the mut-
teryng of the people w^{che} had dyuers Commynycacions and
20 Imagynacions of my lordes beyng there/ or whether it ware
devysed of some malicious person as the disposition of the
Comen people are accustomed to do vppon suche secrett con-
sultacions I knowe not/ but what so euer the occasion or cause
was the Auctor hathe settforthe suche boke/ this I ame well
25 assured that after my lord was therof aduertised/ And had
pervsed oon of the same boke/ he was not a littill offendyd/ And
assembled all the pryvye Councell of ffraunce together to
whome he spake hys mynd thus/ sayeng that it was not oonly a
suspecyon in them but also a great rebuke and a diffamacion to
30 the kynges honour to se & knowe any suche sedicius ontrewthe
opynly devoulged and setforthe by any malicious & subtyll
traytor of this Realme/ sayeng furthermore that if the lyke had
byn attempted wⁱⁿ the realme of Englund he doughted not but
to se it punysshed accordyng to the trayterous demeanour &
35 desertes/ Notw^tstandyng I sawe but small redresse/ So this was

4 entertaynment] *MS.* entertayment

8 p peace *canc.* before too; too

interl. 9 lord *canc.* after souerayn

10 than *interl.*

11 Nowe *interl.*

15 ware *interl.*

16 beyng] *MS.* byng

17 / & to *canc.* after

Realme 22-23 C *canc.* before consultacions

28 it] t written over s

oon of the displeasures that the ffrenche men shewed hym for
all his paynnes and travell that he toke for qualefieng of ther
kynges Raumsome/ **Allso another** displeasure was this/ there
was no place where he was lodged after he entred the terretorye
of ffraunce but that he was robbed in his privye chamber other 5
of oon thyng or other/ And at Compigne he lost his standyshe
of Syluer & gylt/ And there it was espied & the partie taken
w^{che} was but a littill boy of xijth or xiiij^{en} yere of age a ruffians
page of Paris w^{che} haunted my lordes lodgyng w^tout any sus-
picion vntill he was taken lyeng vnder my lordes privye stayers/ 10
vppon w^{che} occasion he was apprehendyd and examyned And
incontynent confessed all thynges that was myst w^{che} he stale
and brought to his m^r the ruffian who receyved the same &
procured [f. 34^v] hym so to do/ After the spyall of thys boye/
my lord revelled the same vnto the Councell/ by means wherof 15
the Ruffian/ the boys master was apprehendyd/ and set on the
pillorye/ in the myddest of the markett place (A goodly recom-
pence for suche an haynous offence) Also an other displeasure
was/ Some lewd person (who so euer it was) had engraved in
the great Chamber wyndowe where my lord lay vppon the 20
leanyng stone there a Cardynalles hatte w^t a payer of Galhowsse
ouer it in derision of my lord w^t dyuers other onkynd de-
meanors/ the w^{che} I leave heare to wright they be matters so
slaundersous//

Thus/ passyng dyuers dayes in consultacion expectyng the 25
retourne of Crystopher Gunner w^{che} was sent in to Englonde w^t
letters vnto the kyng as it is rehersed hertofore by empost/ who
at last retorned agayn w^t other letters/ vppon receypt wherof my
lord Cardynall mad hast to retourne in to Englonde/ In the
mornyng that my lord shold depart And remove beyng than at 30
masse in his Closett he consecrated the Chauncelour of ffraunce
A Cardynall And put vppon hym the habyt dewe to that order/
And than toke his Iourney in to Englonde ward makyng suche
necessary expedycion that he came to Gwynnes where he was
noblely receyved of my lord Sandes Capteyn there w^t all the 35

8 age] MS. ages

over v

final s

nobley

13 it *canc.* before to

30 lord *interl.*

33 than] n *written over t*

16 on] o *written*

31 masse] sse *written over a single*

35 receyved *canc.* after

retynewe therof/ And frome thence he roode to Calice/ where he
 taried the shyping of his stuffe, horsse, & trayn And in the
 mean tyme he establisshed there a marte to be kept for all
 nacions (but howe long indewred and in what sort it was vsed
 5 I knowe not) for I neuer hard of any great good that it dide/ or
 of any worthie assemble there of marchauntes or marchantdice/
 that was brought thether for the furnytur of so waytie a matter/
 Thes thynges fynysshed and others for the weale of the town/
 he toke shyping And Arryved at Douer/ ffrome wence he
 10 roode to the kyng (beyng than in his progresse at sir harre
 wyates howsse in kent) supposyd among vs his seruantes that
 he shold be Ioyfully receyved at his home Commyng as well of
 the kyng as of all other noble men but we ware dissayved in our
 expectacion/ notw^tstandyng he went Immedyaty after his Com-
 15 myng to the kyng w^t whome he had long talke and contynued
 there in the Court ij or iij^{re} dayes and than retorned to hys
 howsse at Westminster where he remayned [f. 35] vntill
 myhelmas terme w^{che} was w^t in a fourthnyght after/ And vsyng
 his Rome of Chauncellorshipe as he was wont to do/ At w^{che}
 20 tyme he caused an assemble to be made in the starre Chamber
 of all the noble men, Iuges, and Iustices of the peace of euery
 shere that was at that present in westminster hall/ And there
 made to theme a long Oracion declaryng vnto them the cause of
 his ambassett in to ffraunce And of his procedynges there/
 25 Among the w^{che} he sayd that he had concludyd suche an
 amytye And ffrendshipe as neuer was hard of in this Realme in
 our tyme byfore/ As well bytween the Emprour and vs as bytween
 the ffrenche kyng and our souerayn lord concludyng a perpetuall
 peace w^{che} shall be confirmed in writyng alternaty sealed w^t the
 30 broode seales of bothe the Realmes graved in fynne gold/
 Affirmyng ferthermore that the kyng shold receyve yerely his
 tribute (by that name) for the Duchye of Normandy w^t all

1 therof *interl.*; there *canc.* after therof
 stuffyng of *canc.* before stuffe; horsse] h written over v
 before there 8 weale of *canc.* before weale 6 therof *canc.*
 before Douer; wence] final e written over s 9 douer *canc.*
 expectation 14 expectacion/] MS.
 18 in *interl.* 19 do/ At] MS. do At 20 an
canc. before an; an *interl.* 21 of *interl.* before all 26 a single
 indecipherable letter *canc.* before hard 31 after *canc.* before ferthermore;
 that the kyng *canc.* before shold; shold] MS. sheld

other costes w^{che} he hathe susteyned in the warres And where
there was a restraynt made in fraunce of the ffrenche quens
dower (whome the Duke of Suffolk had married) for dyuers
yeres/ dewryng the warres/ yt ys fully concludyd that she shall
not oonly receyve the same yerely agayn but also the arrerages 5
beyng onpayed duryng the restraynt/ All w^{che} thynges shold be
perfected at the comynge of the great ambassett owt of ffraunce/
in the w^{che} shalbe a great number of noble men and gentilmen
for the conclusion of the same/ as hathe not byn seen repayer
hether owt of oon Realme in an Ambassett/ This peace thus 10
concludyd there shalbe suche an Amytie bytween gentilmen of
eche realme/ And entercourse of marchauntes w^t marchandyse,
that it shall seme to all men the terretorys to be but oon
monarche/ Gentillmen may travell quyotly frome oon contrie
to an other for ther recreacion and pastyme/ And marchauntes 15
beyng arryved in eche contrie shalbe assured to travell about
ther affayers in peace & tranquylite So that this Realme shall
Ioy & prospere for euer/ wherfore it shalbe well don for all
trewe Englishshemen to auauce & setforthe this perpetuall
peace/ bothe in Countenaunce & gesture w^t suche entertaynme^t 20
as it may be a Iust occasion vnto the ffrenche men to accept the
same in good part/ And also to vse you w^t the semblable/ And
make of the same an noble report in ther contries [f. 35^v] Nowe
good my lordes & gentilmen/ I most entierly requyer you in the
kynges behalfe that ye wyll shewe yo^r selves herin very lovyng & 25
obedyent subiectes wher in the kyng woll myche reioyce yo^r
towardnes and geve to euery man his pryncely thanks for suche
liberalitie & gentilnes as ye or any of you shall mynester/ vnto
theme/ And here he endyd his perswacion and so departyd in to
the dynyng chamber there and dynd among the lordes of the 30
Councell///

Thys greate ambassett/ long loked for was nowe come ouer
w^{che} were in nomber above iiij^{xx} persons of the most noblest &
worthiest gentilmen in all the Court of ffraunce/ who were
right honorably receyved frome place to place after ther 35

1 costes *interl.*

2 fraunce] *MS.* fraunce

7 i. *canc. before*

at; at *interl.*

10 thus *interl.*

14 men of Gentillmen *interl.*

29 Oracio *canc. before* perswacion

30 the *canc. before* the dynyng

31 Co *canc. before* Councell

arryvall/ And so conveyed thorough london vnto the bysshoppes
 palice in powlles chirche yerd/ where they ware lodged/ To
 whome dyuers noble men resortyd/ And gave theme dyuers
 goodly presentes/ And in especyall the mayer & Citie of london/
 5 As wyne, Suger, waxe, Capons, wyldfowle, beafes, mottons, and
 other necessities in great aboundaunce for the expences of ther
 howsse/ Then the next Sonday after ther resort to london they
 repayred to the Court at Grenwyche/ And there by the kynges
 matie most highly receyved & entertayned/ they had a specyall
 10 commyssion to creat & stalle the kynges matie in the Royall
 order of ffraunce/ ffor w^{che} purposely they brought w^t theme a
 Colour of fyne gold of the order w^t a myhell hankyng ther at and
 Robbes to the same appurtenaunt the w^{che} was wonderous
 costly & comly of purpull veluet richely embrodered/ I sawe the
 15 kyng in all this apparell & habytt passyng thorough the chamber
 of presence vnto his Closett & offered in the same habytt at
 masse benethe in the Chappell/ And to gratefie the ffrenche kyng
 w^t lyke honour sent incontynent vnto the frenche kyng the lyke
 order of Englonde by an noble man (the Erle of wyltshere)
 20 purposly for that entent to Creat hym oon of the same order
 of England/ accompaned w^t Garter the harold/ w^t all robys Garter
 & other abyllmentes to the same belongeng as Costly in euery
 degree as thother was of the ffrenche kynges the w^{che} was don
 byfore the retourne of the great ambassett and for the perform-
 25 aunce of this noble & perpetuall peace/ it was concludyd & deter-
 myned that a Solompne masse shold be song in the Cathederall
 chirche of powlles by the Cardynall/ ayenst w^{che} tyme there was
 prepared a Gallerye [f. 36] made frome the west doore of the
 Chirche of powlles vnto the quyer doore Raylled on euery syde
 30 vppon the w^{che} stode vessels full of Parfeumes bornyng/ Then
 the kyng & my lord Cardynall & all the ffrenche w^t all other
 noble men & gentilmen ware conveyed vppon this Gallery vnto
 the highe Aulter in to ther trauersys/ than my lord Cardynall
 prepared hymeself to masse assocyatted w^t xxiiijth myters of
 35 bysshoppes and Abbottes attendyng vppon hym & to serue

3 the *canc.* after whome 10 kynges] *MS.* kyng
interl. 20 establysshe *canc.* before Creat
 full] *MS.* stode full; bornyng/ Then] *MS.* bornyng Then

13 to
 30 stode vessels

hyme in suche ceromynyes as to hyme (by vertue of his legantyn prerogatyfe) was dewe/ And after the last Agnus the kyng Roose owt of his trauers And kneled vppon a Cusshon & carpett at the highe Aulter/ And the Graund m^r of ffraunce the cheafe Ambassitore that represented the kyng his m^s person 5 kneled by the kynges ma^{tie}/ bytween whome my lord devydyd the sacrame^t as a firme oathe & assuraunce of this perpetuall peace/ that don the kyng resortyd agayn vnto his trauers And the graund m^r in lyke wyse to his/ this masse fynysshed (w^{che} was song w^t the kynges chapell & the quyer of powles) my lord 10 Cardynall toke the Instrument of this perpetuall peace & amytie And rede the same opynly byfore the kyng and the assemble bothe of Englysshe & frenche/ to the w^{che} the kyng subscribed w^t hys owen hand and the Graund m^r for the frenche kyng in lyke wyse/ the w^{che} was sealed w^t scales of fynne gold 15 engraven and delyuerd to eche other as ther firme deades/ And all thys don & fynysshed they departed/ the kyng rode home to the Cardynalles howse at westminster to dynner w^t whome dyned all the ffrenche men/ passyng all day after in Consultacion in waytie matters touchyng the conclusion of thys peace & 20 amytie// that don the kyng went agayn by water to Grenw^{che}/ at whos departyng it was determyned by the kynges devyse that the ffrenche gentilmen shold resort vnto Richemond to hunt there in euery of the parkes/ And frome thence to hampton Court And there in lyke wyse to hunt/ And there my lord 25 Cardynall to make for theme a Supper & lodge theme there that nyght/ And frome thence they shold ride to wyndesore/ And there to hunt/ And after ther retourne to london they shold resort to the Court where as the kyng wold bankett theme/ And this perfectly determyned the kyng & the frenche departyd//// 30 [f. 36^v]

Then was there no moore to do but to make provysion at hampton Court for thys assemble/ ayenst the day appoynted/ my lord called for his pryncypall officers of hys howsse as his

1 hyme *interl. before in; (canc. before as* 2-3 the kyng *interl.*
 5 m^s] *MS. m^r; person] MS. persons interl. with final s written over e*
 10 ther *canc. before of* 13 of *interl.* 14 his *canc.*
before w^t 17 in *canc. before to; to interl.* 18 kyng *canc. before*
 Cardynalles 19 *first all interl.* 22 devyse *canc. before devyse*
 33 t all *canc. before thys*

steward/ Controller And the Clarkes of his kytchen whome he
 commaundyd to prepare for this bankett at hampton Court And
 nother to spare for expences or travell to make them suche
 tryhumphant chere as they may not oonly wonder at hit here
 5 but also make a gloryous report in ther Contrie to the kynges
 honour & of this Realme/ his pleasure oons knowen to accom-
 plysshe his commaundeme^t they sent forthe all ther Cators/
 purveyours & other persons to prepare of the fynnest vyandes
 that they cowlde gett other for mony or frendshyppe among my
 10 lordes frendes/ Also they sent for all the expertest Cookes
 besydes my lordes that they could gett in all Englund where they
 myght be gotten to serue to garnysshe this feast/ The pur-
 vuyours brought and sent In suche plenty of Costly provysion as
 ye wold wonder at the same/ The Cookes wrought bothe nyght
 15 & day in dyuers subtiltes and many crafty devisis/ where lacked
 nother gold, Syluer ne any other costly thyng meate for ther
 purpose/ The yomen And Gromes of the ward Robbes were
 busied in hangyng of the Chambers w^t costly hangynges And
 furnysshynge the same w^t Beddes of sylke and other furnytur
 20 apte for the same in euery degree/ Than my lord Cardynall sent
 me beyng gentilman vssher w^t ij other of my ffellowes to
 hampton Court to fforsee all thynges touchyng our Romes/ to be
 noblly garnysshed accordyngly/ ower paynnes ware not small
 or lyght/ but travellyng dayly frome Chamber to Chamber/ 'Than
 25 the Carpenters, the Ioynors, the Masons, the paynters, And all
 other Artificers necessary to glorefie the howsse & feast ware
 sett a worke/ there was cariage & recariage of plate, stuffe, and
 other riche Impleme^{tes}/ So that there was no thyng lakkyng or
 to be Imagyned or devysed for the purpose/ There was also
 30 xiiij^{xx} beddes providyd and furnysshed w^t all maner of ffurny-
 ture to them belongyng to long partuculerly here to reherse/ but
 to all wysmen it suffisithe to Imagyn that knowyth what

4 chere *canc. before* tryhumphant; hit] h *written over y*

canc. before accomplysshe

11 gett *interl.*

6 accom

same The

16 meate *canc. after* thyng

14 same/ The] *MS.*

19 Beddes *canc. before* Beddes

21 a single indecipherable letter

canc. before ij

24 light *canc. before* lyght

27-28 stuffe,

and other] *MS.* stuffe, other

29 purpose *canc. before* purpose

32 to all *canc. before* to all; and *canc. before* that; that *interl.*; he *canc. before*

knowyth

belongythe to the ffurnytüre of suche a tryhumphant feast or bankett/// [f. 37]

The day was come/ that to the ffrenchemen was assigned and they redy assembled at hampton Court (some thyng byfore the hower of ther appoyntment)/ wherfore the Officers caused them 5 to Ride to hanworthe a place & parke of the kynges w^{thin} ij or iij^{re} mylles there to hunt & spend the tyme vntill nyght/ At w^{che} tyme they retorned agayn to hampton Court/ And euery of them conveyed to hys Chamber seuerally havynge in them great fiers and wyne redy to refresshe theme remaynyng there 10 vntill ther Supper was redy And the Chambers where they shold suppe ware ordered in dewe forme/ 'The first waytyng chamber was hanged wth fynne Arras And so was all the rest oon better than an other furnysshed wth talle yomen/ there was sett tables round abought the Chamber bankett wyse all couered wth 15 fynne clothes of dyaper/ A Cup bord wth plate of parcell gylt/ havynge also in the same chamber to geve the more lyght iij^{or} plates of syluer sett wth lightes vppon them/ a great fier in the Chymney/ 'The next chamber beyng the Chamber of presence hanged wth very riche arras/ wherin was a gorgious & a precyous 20 clothe of estate hanged vppe/ replenysshed wth many goodly gentilmen redy to serue/ the bordes ware sett as thother bordes ware in the other chamber byfore/ save that the highe table was sett & removed benethe the clothe of estate towards the myddes of the chamber couered wth fynne linnen clothes of dammaske 25 worke swetly perfumed/ there was a Cupboard made (for the tyme) in lengthe of the bredthe of the nether end of the same chamber of vjth desks highe/ full of gilt plate very somptious & of the most newest facions/ and vppon the nether most deske garnyssed all wth plate of clean gold hauynge ij great Candystrykes 30 of syluer & gylt most Curiously wrought the worke manshype wherof wth the syluer cost iij^c markes and lightes of waxe as bygge as torches burnyng vppon the same/ this Cupbord was barred in round about that no man myght come nyghe it/ ffor there

1 therof *canc.* before of; of] *MS.* /// of; suche a tryhumphant] *MS.* suche tryhumphant
 3 that *interl.*; was *interl.* after ffrenchemen 12 wa
interl. and *canc.* before waytyng; waytyng *interl.* 20 sett *canc.* after
 was; a *interl.* after & 21 may *canc.* before many 32 cost *canc.*
 before w^t

was none of the same plate occupied or sterred duryng this
 feast for ther was sufficient besides// the plattes that hong on the
 walles to geve lightes in the chamber ware of syluer & gylt w^t
 lightes burnyng in them and a great fier in the chymney/ And all
 5 other thynges necessary for the furnytüre of so noble a feast///
 [f. 37^v]

Nowe was all thinges in a redynes and Supper tyme at hand/
 My lordes Officers caused the Truppettes to blowe to warne to
 Supper And the seyd Officers went right discretly in dewe
 10 order And conducted thes nobyll personages frome ther
 Chambers vnto the Chamber of presence where they shold
 Suppe/ And they beyng there caused them to sytt down/ ther
 seruyce was brought vppe in suche order & Aboundaunce bothe
 Costly & full of subtilties w^t suche a pleasaunt noyce of dyuers
 15 Instrumentes of musyke/ that the ffrenche men (as it semyd)
 ware rapte in to an hevynly paradise/ ye must vnderstand that
 my lord was not there ne yet come/ but they beyng mery and
 plesaunt w^t ther fare/ devysyng and wonderyng vppon the
 subtilties/ byfore the second Course/ my lord Cardynall came In
 20 among them, booted & spurred (all sodenly) And bad them
 proface/ At whos commyng they wold haue risyn & gyve place/
 w^t myche Ioye/ whome my lord commaundyd to sitt still & kepe
 ther Romes/ And strait way (beyng not shifted of his ridyng
 apparell) called for a Chayer/ And satt hyme self down in the
 25 myddes of the table/ lawghyng & beyng as mery as euer I sawe
 hyme in all my lyfe/ Anon came vppe the Second Course w^t so
 many disshes, subtilties, & curious devysis w^{che} ware above an
 Cth in number of so goodly proporcion and Costly/ that I
 suppose the ffrenchmen neuer sawe the lyke/ the wonder was no
 30 lesse than it was worthy in deade/ there ware Castelles w^t
 Images in the same/ powlles Chirche & steple in proporcion for
 the quantitie as well counterfeited as the paynter shold haue
 paynted it vppon a clothe or wall/ There ware, beastes, byrdes,
 fowles of dyuers kyndes And personages most lyvely made &
 35 counterfet in dysshes/ some fightyng (as it ware) w^t swordes/
 some w^t Gonnes and Crosebowes/ Some vaughtyng & leapyng/

4 them and a] *MS.* them a
 before in; hand *canc.* before hand
interl.; bove *canc.* before an

5 other *interl.* 7 was *canc.*
 27 curious *interl.*; bove of above

Some dauncyng w^t ladyes/ Some in complett harnes lustyng w^t
 speres/ And w^t many more devysis than I ame able w^t my wytt
 to discribbe/ Among all oon I noted/ there was a Chesse bord
 subtilly made of spiced plate/ [f. 38] w^t men to the same/ And
 for the good proporcyon bycause that frenche men be very 5
 experte in that play/ my lord gave the same to a gentilman of
 fraunce commaundyng that a Case shold be made for the same/
 in all hast to preserue it frome perysshying in the conveyaunce
 therof in to hys Contrie/ Then my lord toke a boll of gold (w^{che}
 was estemed at the valewe of .V^cth markes) And fillyd w^t 10
 Ipocras (wherof there was plentie) putyng of his Cappe sayed/
 I drynke to the kyng my souerayn lord & m^r/ and the kyng yo^r
 mayster/ And ther w^t dranke a good draught/ And whan he had
 don, he desired the graund m^r to plege hyme cuppe & all/ the
 w^{che} Cuppe he gave hyme/ And so caused all thother lordes & 15
 gentilmen in other Cuppes to plege thes ij Royall prynces/ then
 went Cuppes meryly about that many of the ffrenche men
 were fayn to be led to ther beddes/ Than went my lord (levyng
 theme syttyng still) in to hys privye Chamber to shyft hyme And
 makyng there a very short sopper or rather a small repast 20
 retorned Agayn among theme in to the chamber of presence/
 vsing them so nobly w^t so lovyng & famylier Countenaunce &
 entertaynment that they cowlde not commend hyme to myche/
 And whillest they ware in Commynycacion And other pastymes/
 all ther lyueres ware serued to ther chambers/ Euery chamber 25
 had a bason & an yewer of siluer & some clean gylt & some
 parcell gylt and some ij great pottes of siluere in lyke maner
 And oon pott at the least w^t wyne & beare/ A boll or Coblett/
 And a siluer pott to drynk bere/ a siluer kandyllstyke or ij/ bothe
 w^t whight lyghtes & yelewe lightes of iij^{re} Cisis of waxe/ and a 30
 staffe torche/ a fynne maynchett & a cheete love of brede/ thus

2-3 wytt to discribbe] *MS.* wytt discribbe 8 fr *canc. before* in the;
 conveyaunce] *MS.* coneyaaunce 10 to *canc. before* And and be *before*
 fillyd; And *interl.* 12 dynke *canc. before* drynke; drynke *interl.*
 16 theme *canc. before* thes 17 mery *canc. before* meryly; meryly *interl.*
 25 chambers/ Euery] *MS.* chambers Euery 26 ewer *canc. after* an;
 yewer *interl.*; some clean *interl. with* Clean *interl. and* *canc. before* clean
 27 great *interl.* 29 drynk] k *written over* g 30 lightes of iij^{re}] *MS.* lightes iij^{re}
 thus 31 brede/] *MS.* brede; and yet not *canc. before*

was every chamber furnysshed thoroughe owt the howsse And
yet the ij Cupbordes in the too bankettyng Chambers not oons
towched/ Than beyng past mydnyght as tyme serued they were
conveyed to ther lodgynges to take ther rest for that nyght/ In
5 the mornyng of the next day (not early) they rose & hard masse
& dyned w^t my lord/ And so departed [f. 38^v] toward wyndesore
and there hunted delihtyng myche of the Castell & Collage and
in the order of the Garter/ they beyng departed frome hampton
Court/ my lord retourned agayn to westminster bycause it was
10 in the myddes of the terme/ **Yt is not** to be doughted but that
the kyng was privye of all this worthy feast/ who entendyd ferre
to exced the same/ whome I leave vntill the retourne of the
frenche men who gave a specyall commaundement to all his
Officers to devyse a farre Sumptioser bankett for thes strayngers
15 otherwyse than they had at hampton Court w^{che} was not nec-
lectyd but most spedely put in execucion w^t great delygence//
After the retorne of thes Strayngers frome wyndesore/ w^{che}
place w^t the goodly order therof/ they myche Commendyd/ 'The
day Approched that they were invited to the Court at Grenw^{che}/
20 where first they dyned/ And after long consultacion of the
Sagest w^t our Councillours/ dauncyng of the rest & other
pastyme the tyme of Supper came on/ Than was the bankettyng
Chamber in the 'Tyltyerd furnysshed for thentertaynme^t of thes
estrayngers/ to the w^{che} place they were conveyed by the noblest
25 persones beyng than in the Court/ where they bothe Supped &
banketted/ But to discrybe the disshes, the subtyltes, the many
straynge devyisis/ & order in the same/ I do bothe lake wytt in
my grosse old hed & Cunnyng in my bowelles to declare the
wonderfull and Curious Imagynacions in the same Inventyd &
30 devysed/ yet this ye shall vnderstand that allthoughe it was at
hampton Court marvelous Sumptious/ yet dyd thys bankett
ferre exced the same as fynne gold dothe siluer/ in waytt &
valewe/ And for my part I must nedes confesse (w^{che} sawe
them bothe) that I neuer sawe the lyke or rede in any story

1 of *canc.* after owt3 as tyme serued *interl.*7 they *canc.*before there; there and myche *interl.*12 retourne] *MS.* retournee15 not *interl.*21 day daunced *canc.* before dauncyng

29 wondeff

canc. before wonderfull30 hau *canc.* after shall34 1 *canc.*

before lyke

or cronycle of any suche feast// In the myddes of this bankett
ther was tornyng at the barriers (evyn in the Chamber) w^t lusty
gentilmen in gorgious complett harnoys on foote/ Than was
there the lyke on horssebakke/ And after all this there was the
most goodlyest disguysyng or enterlude made in latten & 5
frenche/ whos apparell was of suche excedyng riches that it
passithe my capacitie to expound/ this don than came in suche a
number of fayer ladys & gentilwomen that bare any brute or fame
of beawtie in all this realme/ in the most richest apparell and
devysied in dyuers goodly facions that all the connyngest 10
tayllours could devyse to shape or Cut to sett forth the
beawtie, geesture, & the goodly proporcion of ther bodyes/ who
semyd to all men more Ayngeyke than yerthely made of flesshe
& bone/ [f. 39] (Sewerly to me Symple sowle) it semyd
Inestymable to be discribed/ And so I thynke it was to other of a 15
more higher Iugem^t/ w^t whome thes Gentilmen of ffraunce
daunced vntill an other maske cam In of noble Gentilmen/ who
daunced & masked w^t thes fayer ladyes & gentillwomen euery
man as hys ffantazy scrueed theme/ this don and the maskers
departed/ there came in an other maske of ladyes so gorgeously 20
apparelled in costly garmentes that I dare not presume to take
vppon me to make therof any declaracion lest I shold retther
deface than beawtifie them therfore I leave it ontouched/ The
ladys maskeresses toke eche of theme a frenche gentelman/ to
daunce & maske w^t theme/ ye shall vnderstand that thes lady 25
maskers spake good ffrenche w^{che} delighted myche thes gentil-
men to here thes ladyes speke to theme in ther owen tong/ thus
was thys nyght occupied & consumed frome .v. of the cloke vntill
ij or iij after mydnyght at w^{che} tyme it was convenyent for all
estattes to drawe to ther rest/ And thus euery man departed/ 30
whether as they had most releave//

Than as nothyng/ other helthe wealthe or pleasure can
allwayes endure So endyd this tryhumphant bankett/ the w^{che}

1 or cronycle <i>interl.</i>	3 foote/ Than] <i>MS.</i> foote Than	4 after
and second the <i>interl.</i>	10 dyuers goodly <i>interl.</i>	11 forthe] <i>MS.</i>
for	13 yerthely] <i>first y written over e</i>	21 apparell <i>canc.</i>
before apparellled; apparellled <i>interl.</i> ;	presume to <i>interl.</i>	23 it <i>canc.</i>
before them; them <i>interl.</i>	24 maskeresses] <i>second e written over s</i>	
25 thes <i>interl.</i>	29 co <i>canc.</i> before convenyent	31 as
<i>interl.</i>		

in the next mornynge semyd to all the beholders but as a ffantas-
 ticall dreame/ After all this solompne chere at a day appoynted
 they prepared them to retourne w^t bagg & baggage/ than as
 to the office of all honorable persons dothe appurteyn/ they
 5 resorted in good order to the Court to take ther leave of the kyng
 and other noble men than beyng there/ to whome the kyng
 commytted his pryncely commendacions to the kyng ther m^r/
 And thanked theme of ther paynnes & travell And after long
 commynycacion w^t the most honorable of that ambassett/ he
 10 bad theme adewe/ who was assigned by the Councell to repayer
 vnto my lord Cardynall for to receyve the kynges most noble
 reward/ wherfore they repayed to my lord & takyng of ther
 leave/ they receyved euery man the kynges reward/ after this
 sort euery honorable person in estymacion had most comenly
 15 plate to the valewe of iij^{re} or iiij^{ch} & some more & some lesse
 besides other great gyftes receyved at the kynges handes byfore/
 as riche gownes, horsses or goodly geldynges/ of great valewe &
 goodnes/ and some had waytie chaynnes of fynne gold w^t dyuers
 other gyftes w^{che} I cannot nowe call to my remembraunce/ but
 20 this I knowe that the lest of [f. 39^v] them all had a Somme of
 Crownes of gold/ the worst page among them had xx^{ti} Crownnes
 for his part/ and thus they (noblely rewardyd) departed And my
 lord after humble commendacions had to the ffrenche kyng he
 bade them a dewe/ And the next day they conveyed all ther
 25 stuffe & furnytüre vnto the sees side/ accompanied w^t lusty
 yong gentilmen of Englund/ but what prayse or commendacions
 they made in ther Countrie at ther retorne in good faythe I
 cannot tell you for I neuer hard any thyng therof

Than began other matters to brewe & take place/ that occupied
 30 all mens hedes w^t dyuers Imagynacions/ whos stomakes ware
 therw^t fulfilled w^tout any perfect digestion/ 'The long hyd &
 secrett love bytween the kyng and m^{rs} Anne Boloyne began to
 breke owt in to euery mans eares/ the matter was than by the
 kyng disclosed to my lord Cardenall/ whos perswasion to the

1 next *interl.*; it *canc. before* semyd

3 as *interl.*

4 persons

dothe appurteyn/] *MS.* persons/ dothe appurteyn *with* dothe appurteyn
interl.

5 toke *canc. before* resorted

10 theme *canc. before* theme

11 Cardynall: ll *frayed away at edge of page*

17 riche *interl.*

21 gold/

the] *MS.* gold the

22 the *canc. before* my

33 in *interl.*;

by *canc. before* by

contrarie made to the kyng vppon his knees cowlde not effect/ the
 kyng was so amorously affectionate/ that wyll bare place/ and
 highe discession banysshed for the tyme/ My lord provoked by
 the kyng to declare his wyse oppynyon in thys matter for the
 furthuraunce of his desired affecte/ who thought it not mete for 5
 hym alone to wade to ferre to geve his hasty Iugement or advyse
 in so waytie a matter desired of the kyng licence to axe the
 Councell of men of Auncyent study & of ffamous learning
 bothe in the lawes dyvyn & Civell (that opteyned) he by his
 legantynce Auctorytie sent owt his commysion vnto all the 10
 bysshoppes of this realme and for other that was exactly owther
 learned in any of the seyd lawes/ or elles had in any estymacion
 for ther prudent Councell & Iugement in pryncely affayers of
 long experyence/ Than assembled these prelattes byfore my
 lord Cardynall at his place in westminster w^t many other famous 15
 & notable Clarkes of bothe the vnyuersites/ Oxford & Cambryge/
 and also owt of dyuers Colleges & cathederall chirches of this
 realme renommed & allowed learned & of wytty discession
 in the determynacion of doughtfull questions// Than was the
 matter of the kynges Case debated, reasonyd & Argued 20
 Consultyng frome day to day & tyme to tyme/ that it was to men
 learned a goodly heryng/ but in Conclusion it semyd me by the
 departure of the Auncyent fathers of the lawes/ that they
 departed w^t oon Iugement contrary to the expectation of the
 princypall parties/ I hard the oppynyon of Somme of the most 25
 famous persons among that sort report/ that the kynges case was
 so obscure & doughtfull for any learned man to [f. 40] discus/
 the poyntes therin ware so darke to be credytted that it was very
 hard to haue any true vnderstandyng or Intellygence/ And
 therefore they departed w^tout any resolucion or Iugement/ Than 30
 in this assemble of bysshoppes it was thought most expedient
 that the kyng shold fyrst send owt his commysioners in to all
 the vnyuersites of Cristendome/ As well here in Englonde as in
 to fforreyn Contries and regions/ to haue among them his

1 not *canc.* after cowlde; not] t written over n 5 not *interl.*
 10 al *canc.* before the 11 other le exactly with exactly *interl. canc.* after
 was; exactly *interl.* 16 vy *canc.* before vnyuersites 17 owt of *interl.*
 18 & *interl.* before of; f *canc.* before wytty 22 a goodly heryng *canc.*
 after heryng; that *canc.* before by 23 auncyent *canc.* before Auncyent
 28 poytes *canc.* before poyntes

graces case Argued substancially And to bryng w^t them frome
 thence the very defynycion of ther oppynyons in the same/
 vnder the sealles of euery seuerall vnyuersitie/ thus was ther
 determynacion for thys tyme/ And thervppon agreed that
 5 Commyssioners were Incontynent appoynted and sent forthe
 aboutht this matter in to seuerall vnyuersites/ as some to
 Oxford Some to Cambryge/ some to lovain/ Some to Paris/
 Some to Orlyauce/ some to bononye/ And some to Padwaye/
 And some to other/ Allthough thes Commyssioners had the
 10 traveylle/ yet was the charges the kynges the w^{che} was no small
 sommes of mony/ And all went owt of the kynges Coffers in to
 fforrayn Regions/ ffor as I hard it reported of credyble persons
 (as it semed in dead) that besides the great charges of the
 Commyssioners ther was in estimable Sommes of mony geuyn
 15 to the ffamous Clarkes to choke theme/ and in especyall to
 suche as hade the gouernaunce & custody of ther vnyuersite
 sealles/ In so myche as they agreed not oonly in oppynyons but
 also opteyned of theme the vnyuersites sealles (the w^{che} atteyned)
 they retourned home agayn furnesshed for ther purpose at whos
 20 retorne ther was no small Ioy made of the pryncypall parties/
 In so myche as the Commyssioners were not oonly euer in great
 estymacion but also most liberally auauanced & rewardyd/ fferre
 beyond ther worthy desertes/ Notw^tstandyng they prospered/
 And the matter went still forward/ hauyng than as they thought
 25 a sewer foundation to ground them vppon/ thes procedynges
 beyng oons declared to my lord Cardynall/ Sent agayn for all
 the bysshoppes whome he made pryue of thexpedicion of the
 commyssioners and for the very profe therof he shewed theme
 the oppynyons of the seuerall vnyuersites in writyng vnder ther
 30 vnyuersities sealles/ Thes matters beyng thus brought to passe/
 they went oons agayn to consultacion/ howe thes matters shold
 be ordered/ [f. 40^v] to the purpose/ Yt was than thought good &
 concludyd by the Advyse of them all that the kyng shold (to
 avoyd all ambyguities) send vnto the pope a legacion w^t the

9 Allthough] *g* *canc. between g and h; uncanc. g written over h* 10 no *canc.*
 after w^{che} 16 vnyuersite] *MS. vnyersite* 18 vnyere *canc. before*
 vnyuersites 23 desertes/ Notw^tstandyng] *MS. desertes* Notw^tstanding
 25 staffe *canc. after sewer; foundation interl.* 29 r *canc. before oppynyons;*
 of the seuerall vnyuersites *interl.*

Instrumēt^t declaryng the oppynyons of the vnyuersites vnder ther
 sealles To the w^{che} it was thought good that all thes prelattes in
 this assemble shold Ioyn w^t the kyng in thys legacion makynge
 intersession & sewte to the pope for advyse & Iugement in this
 great & waytie matter/ And if the pope wold not dyrectly 5
 consent to the same request that than the Ambassitors shold
 further requyer of hym a Commyssion to be dirrected vnder
 leade/ to establysse a court Iudicyall in England (ac vice
 tantum) directed to my lord Cardynall & vnto the Cardynall
 Campagious w^{che} was than bysshope of Bathe/ (Althoughe he 10
 ware a straynger) w^{che} the kyng gave hym at suche tyme as he
 was the Popes ambassitorie here in England/ to here & determyn
 accordyng to the Iust Iugementes of ther concyence/ The w^{che}
 after long & great sewt they oppteined of the pope his com-
 mysson/ this don and atchyved they made retorne in to Englonde 15
 makeng report vnto the kyng of ther expedicion/ trustyng that
 hys graces pleasure & purpose shold nowe perfectly be brought
 to passe/ consideryng the estate of the Iuges who ware the
 Cardynall of Englonde & of Campagious beyng bothe hys hignes
 subiectes in effecte/ 20

Long was the desier & greater was the hoppe/ on all sides
 expectyng the Commyng of the lagacion & Commyssion frome
 Rome yet at lengthe yt came/ And after the arryvall of the legat
 Campasious (w^t thys solompne commyssion) in England/ he
 beyng sore vexed w^t the gowtte was constrayned by force 25
 therof to make a long Iourney or euer he came to london/ who
 shold haue byn most solompnly receyved at Blak hethe/ And so
 w^t great tryhumphe conveyed to london but his glory was suche/
 that he wold in no wyse be entertayned w^t any suche pompe or
 vaynglory/ who suddenly came by water in a wry to his owen 30
 howsse w^tout Temple barre called than Bathe place w^{che} was
 furnysshed for hym w^t all maner of Stuffe & Implemet^{tes} of my
 lordes provysion/ where he contynued & lodged duryng his abode
 here in Englonde/ Than after some delyberacion/ his commyssion
 [f. 41] vnderstandyd, rede, & perceyved/ yt was by the councell 35

5 dyrectly interl. 12 do *canc. after to* 14 to whome *canc. after pope*
 14-15 his commysson interl. with the virgule placed before his 15 the *canc.*
 before and 17 be *canc. before perfectly* 19 es *canc. after Cardynall*
 21 r *canc. after greater was the* 34 rede *canc. after commyssion*

determinyd that the kyng & the Quene his wyfe shold be
lodged at Bridewell/ And that in the blake ffriers a certyn place
shold be appoynted where as the kyng & the Quene myght most
convenyently repaire to the Court there to be erected & kepte
5 for the disputacion & determynacion of the kynges case/ where
as thes ij legattes sat In Iugeme^t as notable Iuges/ byfore whome
the kyng & the Quene were dewly Cited and Sommoned to
appere/ **W^{che}** was the strayngest & newest sight & devyse that
euer was rede or hard in any history or Cronycle in any Region/
10 That a kyng and a quene/ to be convented and constrayned by
processe compellatory to appere in any Court (as comen persons)
w^t in ther owen Realme or domynyon to abyde the Iugeme^t &
decrees of ther owen subiectes/ havynge the dyadem & preroga-
tyfe therof **Ys it not** a world to consider the desier of wyfull
15 prynces whan they fully be bent and Inclyned to fullfyll ther
voluptuous Appetytes/ Aynst the w^{che} no reasonable per-
swasions wyll suffice/ littill or no thyng wayeng or regardyng the
dayngerous sequelles that dothe ensue as well to them selves as
to ther Realme & subiectes/ And Above all thynges ther is no
20 oon thyng that causithe theme to be more wyfull than Carnall
desier & voluptuous affeccion of folyshe love/ the xperyence is
playn in this case bothe manyfest & evydent/ ffor what surmysed
Invencions hathe byn Invented/, what lawes hathe byn enacted/,
what noble and aunycnt monastorys ouerthrowen & defaced/
25 what dyuersites of religious oppynyons hathe rissyn/ what
execucions hathe byn comytted/ howe many famous &
notable Clarkes hathe suffered deathe/ what charitable founda-
cions were peruertyd frome the releafe of the poore vnto
prophan vsis/ And what alteracions of good and holsome
30 aunycnt lawes & custumes hathe byn tossed by wyll & wyllfull
desier of the prynce/ almost to the subuercyon and desolacion of
this noble Realme/ all men may vnderstand what hathe chaunced
to this reegion/ The prove ther of hathe taught all vs Englysshe-
men a comen xperyence/ the more is the pitie/ & to all good

1 wyfe *canc. before* wyfe 7 assi *canc. before* dewly; dewly *interl.* 10 two
indecipherable letters *canc. after* kyng 11 comen] *MS. coen* 20 to be
interl. 22 bothe *interl.*; & *canc. before* & 24 hathe byn *canc.*
before ouerthrowen 26 of *canc. before* hathe and what *before* howe
30 la *canc. before* aunycnt 34 comen] *MS. coen*

men very lamentable to be considered/ yf eyes be not blynd men
may se/ if eares be not stopped they may here/ And if pitie be not
exiled they may lament/ the sequell of this pernycious and
inordynat/ [f. 41^v] Carnall love/ the plague wherof is not seased
(allthoughe this love lasted but a whyle) w^{che} our lord quenche/ 5
And take frome vs his Indygnacion/ Quia peccauimus cum
patribus nostris et Iniuste egimus/ &^{ce}/

Ye shall vnderstand/ As I sayd before/ that there was a
Courte erected in the blake ffriers in london/ where thes ij
Cardynalles satt for Iuges/ Nowe wyll I set you owte the maner 10
& order of the Court there/ ffirst there was a Court placed w^t
tabylles, benches, & barres, lyke a consistory a place Iudicyall
for the Iuges to sytt on/ there was also a clothe of estate vnder
the w^{che} sate the kyng/ & the Quene sat some distaunce benethe
the kyng/ vnder the Iuges feet sat the officers of the Court/ the 15
chefe Scribbe there/ was than Doctor Stephens (w^{che} was after
bysshope of wynchester) the apparitor was oon Cooke (most
comenly called Cooke of wynchester) 'Than satt there w^t in the
seyd Court directly byfore the kyng & Iuges/ the Archebisshope
of Caunterbure (Doctor warham) and all the other bysshoppes/ 20
than At bothe thendes w^t a barre made for them/ the councelles
on bothe sydes/ the doctors for the kyng was Doctor Sampson
w^{che} was after bysshope of Chichester/ And Doctor Bell w^{che}
after was bysshope of worceter/ w^t dyuers other/ the proctors on
the kynges part was doctor Peter/ w^{che} was after made the kynges 25
chefe secretary/ And Doctor 'Tregonell/ And dyuers other/
Nowe on thother side stode the Councell for the quene/ Doctor
ffisser Bisshope of Rochester/ And Doctor Standysshe Some-
tyme a gray ffreer and than bysshope of Saynt Assa^{ph} in wales/
ij notable Clarkes in dyvynytye and in especyall the bysshoppe 30
of Rochester/ a very godly man and a devout person/ who after
sufferd deathe at Tower hyll the w^{che} was greatly lamented
thoroughe all the forrayn vnyuersites of cristendom/ ther was
also an other auncyent doctor called (as I do remember) doctor

14 kyng/ & the Quene sat] *MS.* kyng & the Quene/ sat 17 wyn-
chester)] *MS.* wynchester/ 18 comenly] *MS.* comnly 22 sydes] y
written over e 29 Assa^{ph}] a written over e 32 of *canc. before*
at; at *interl.* 33 among *canc. before* thoroughe; thoroughe *interl.*;
cristendom/ ther] *MS.* cristendom ther

Rydley a very small person in stature/ but sewerly a great & an
 excellent Clarke in dyvynytye/ The Court beyng thus ffurnysshed
 & ordered/ The Iuges commaundyd the Crier to commaund
 Scylence/ than was the Iuges Commyssion w^{che} they had of the
 5 pope publysshed & red opynly byfore all the Audyence there
 assembled/ that don/ the Crier called the kyng by the name of
 kyng herre of Englonde come in to the Court/ &^{ce}/ w^t that the
 kyng answered & sayd (here my lordes) than he called also the
 quene/ by the name of katheren quen of Englonde come in to the
 10 Court/ &^{ce}/ who made no answeere to the same/ but rose vppe
 incontynent [f. 42] owt of hir chayer where as she satt/ And
 bycause she cowld not come dyrectly to the kyng/ for the
 distaunce w^{che} seuered theme/ she toke payn to goo about
 vnto the kyng knelyng down at his feete/ in the sight of all the
 15 Courte & assemble/ 'To whome she sayd in effect/ in broken
 Englysshe as folowyth/

Syr/ q^d she/ I besече you for all the loves that hathe byn
 bytween vs And for the love of god/ lett me haue Iustice & right/
 take of me some pitie & compassion/ for I ame a poore woman
 20 and a Straynger borne owte of yo^r domynyon/ I haue here no
 assured frendes/ And muche lesse Indifferent Councell/ I flee
 to you as to the hed of Iustice w^t in thys realme/ Alas sir where
 In haue I offendyd you/ or what occasion of displeasure haue
 I deserued ayenst yo^r wyll or pleasure/ entendyng (as I perceyve)
 25 to put me frome you/ I take god & all the world to wytnes that
 I haue byn to you a trewe humble and obedyent wyfe/ euer
 confirmable to yo^r wyll and pleasure that neuer sayed or dyd
 any thyng to the contrarye therof/ beyng allwayes well pleased
 & contented w^t all thynges wherin ye had any delight or
 30 dalyaunce/ whether it ware in littill or myche/ I neuer grudged
 in word or countenaunce or shewed a vysage or sparke of
 discontentacion/ I loved all thos whome ye loved/ oonly for yo^r
 sake/ whether I had cause or no/ and whether they ware my
 ffrendes or my ennemyes/ this xx^{ti} yeres I haue byn yo^r true

3 &] *written over or*; Crier *canc. before* Crier 8 also *interl.* 8-9 the
canc. before quene 14 C *canc. after* all 23 In haue] *MS. In/*
 haue 25 to put yo *canc. before first* to 26 an hun *canc. before a;*
 a *interl.* 31 the *canc. after* shewed; a *interl.* 32 discontent-
 acion] *MS. discontentacion*

wyfe (or more) and by me ye haue had dyuers childerne/
 Allthoughe it hathe pleased god to call theme owt of this
 world/ w^{che} hathe byn no default in me/ And whan ye had me
 at the ffirst (I take god to be my Iuge) I was a true mayed w^towt
 touche of man/ And whether it be true or no I put it to yo^r 5
 concyence/ Yf there be any Iust cause by the lawe that ye can
 allegge ayenst me other of dishonestie or any other Impedyme^t
 to banysshe & put me frome you/ I ame well content to departe
 to my great shame & dishonour/ And if there be none/ than here
 I most lowly beseche you lett me remayn in my former estate 10
 And to receyve Iustice at yo^r pryncely handes/ The kyng yo^r
 ffather was in the tyme of his [f. 42^v] Reyn of suche estymacion
 thoroughe the world for his excellent wysdome that he was
 accompted and called of all men/ the second Salamon/ And my
 ffather fferdynando kyng of spayn who was estemed to be oon 15
 of the wyttiest Prynces that Reygned in Spayn many yeres
 byfore/ Who ware bothe wyse & excellent kynges in wysdome &
 pryncely behauour/ yt is not therfore to be doughted but that
 they elected & gathered as wyse Councillers abought theme as
 to ther highe discessions was thought mete/ Also as me semyth 20
 ther was in thos dayes/ as wyse, as well learned men/ And men
 of as good Iugeme^t as be at this present in bothe Realmes/ Who
 thought than the mariage bytween you And me good & lawfull/
 Therfore it is a wonder to me/ what newe Inuencions are nowe
 Invented ayenst me/ that neuer entendyd but honestie/ And 25
 cause me to stand to the order & Iugeme^t of this newe Court/
 wherin ye may do me myche wrong if ye entend any Cruel-
 tie/ ffor ye may condempne me for lake of sufficyent Answer/
 hauyng no Indifferent Cuncell/ but suche as be assigned me/
 w^t whos wysdome & learnyng I ame not acquaynted/ ye must 30
 Consider that they cannot be Indifferent councillers for my
 parte/ w^{che} be yo^r subiectes & taken owt of yo^r owen cuncell
 byfore wherin they be made pryvyve/ And dare not for yo^r
 displeasure disobey yo^r wyll & entent/ beyng oons made pryvyve

1 had *interl.* 10 I *interl.* 11 & haue *canc. before* And; to *interl.*
 13 excellent *interl.* 15 ffurdyna *canc. before* fferdynando 18 pryncell
canc. before pryncely; is *interl.* 26 C *canc. before* newe 27 d *canc.*
before may; a single indecipherable letter *canc. before* if 29 Indifferent]
 MS. Indifferen; assi *canc. before* assigned 30 w^t *interl.* 32 owen
nterl.

- ther to/ ther for I most humbly requyer you in the way of
charitie and for the love of god (who is the Iuste Iuge) to spare
thextremyte of thys newe Court vntill I may be aduertised
what way & order my frendes in Spayn woll advyse me to take/
5 And if ye wyll not extend to me so myche Indifferent ffauour/
your pleasure than be fullfilled/ And to god I commyt my case/
And evyn w^t that she rose vppe makyng lowe curtosye to the
kyng/ And so departed frome thence/ Supposed that she wold
haue resortyd agayn to hir former place/ but she toke hir direct
10 way owt of the howsse/ leanyng (as she was wont allwayes to
do/) vppon the arme of hir Generall receyvour called m^r
Griffithe/ And the kyng beyng aduertysed of hir departure
commaundyd the Crier to call hir agayn/ who called hir by the
name of katheren quen of Englund come in to the Court// &^{ce}/
15 w^t that q^d Gryffyth/ madame ye be called agayn/ on on/ q^d she/ it
[f. 43] makes no matter/ for it is no Indifferent Court for me/
therfore I wyll not tary/ goo on yo^r wayes/ And thus she
departyd owt of that Court w^t out any further Answer at that
tyme or at any other nor wold neuer appere in any Court after/
20 **The kyng perceyving**/ that she was departed in suche sort
callyng to his graces memory all hir lamentable wordes that she
had pronuncyd byfore hyme & all the Audyence/ sayd thus in
effect/ **ffor as myche**/ q^d he/ as the quen is goon I wyll in hir
absence/ declare vnto you all my lordes here presently assembled/
25 She hathe byne to me as true obedyent & as confirmable a wyfe
as I cowlde in my fantzy wyshe or desier/ She hathe all the
vertuose qualities that owght to be in a woman of hir dignytie
or in any other of basser estate/ Sewerly/ she is also a noble
woman borne/ if nothyng ware in hir but oonly hir condicyons
30 woll well declare the same/ w^t that q^d my lord Cardynall sir I
most humbly beseche yo^r highnes to declare me byfore all this
Audyence/ whether I haue byn the cheafe Inventor or first
mover of this matter vnto yo^r maiestie/ for I ame greatly sus-
pected of all men herein// My lord Cardynall/ q^d the kyng/ I can
35 well excuse you herin/ mary indeade ye haue byn rather ayenst

2 of interl.

letter *canc.* before she

before come

lament

3 Cr *canc.* before newe

9 to hir] r written over s

17 tary/ goo] MS. tary goo

32 Audyence *canc.* before Audyence

7 a single indecipherable

14 co *canc.*

21 lamentable] MS.

35 you interl.

me in attemptyng or settingforthe ther of/ And to put you all
 owt of dought I wyll declare vnto you thespecyall cause that
 moved me herevnto/ yt was a certyn Scripulositie that prykked
 my concyence vppon dyuers wordes that were spoken at a
 certyn tyme by the Bysshope of Biean the frenche kynges 5
 Ambassitor/ who had lyen here long vppon the debatyng for the
 conclusion of a mariage to be concludyd bytween the prynces our
 doughter Marye/ and the yong duke of Orlyaunce the ffrenche
 kynges second Sonne/ And vppon the resolucyon & deter-
 mynacion therof he desired respight to aduertise the kyng his 10
 m^r therof/ whether our doughter Marie shold be legittimate/ in
 respect of the mariage w^{che} was somtyme bytween the Quene here
 & my brother late prynce Arthure/ thes wordes ware so con-
 ceveyed w^t in my scripulous concyence/ that it brede a doughtfull
 prike w^t in my brest w^{che} dought prykked vexed & trobled so 15
 my mynd [f. 43v] And so disquyoted me that I was in great
 dought of goddes Indignacion (w^{che} as semyd me) appered right
 well/ myche the rather for that he hathe not sent me any Issue
 male/ ffor all suche issue males as I haue receyved of the
 quene died incontynent after they ware borne/ so that I dought 20
 the punysshement of god in that behalfe/ 'Thus/ beyng trobled in
 waves of a scripulos concience/ And partly in dispayer of any
 Issue male by hir/ it drave me at last to consider thestate of this
 Realme/ And the daynger it stode in for lake of Issue male/ to
 succed me in this Emperyall dignyte/ I thought it good therfore 25
 in the releafe of the waytie borden of scripulous concience/ And
 the quyet estate of this noble Realme/ to attempte the lawe ther
 in And wether I myght take an other wyfe/ in case that my first
 copulacion w^t this gentilwoman ware not lawfull/ w^{che} I entend
 not for any carnall concupisence, ne for any displeasure or 30
 myslyke of the quens person or age/ w^t whome I could be as well
 content to contynewe duryng my lyfe/ if our mariage may stand
 w^t godes lawes as w^t any woman alyve/ in w^{che} poynt consistithe
 all this dought that we goo nowe abought to trie by the learned

6 of *canc.* before for; for *interl.* 13 p *canc.* before late 14 doughtfull
interl. 15 of concyence *canc.* before w^t; prykked *interl.* 23 consult
canc. before consider; consider *interl.* 25 En *canc.* before Emperyall
 27 the *interl.* before lawe 28 the f *canc.* after case 31 displeasure
canc. before person

wysdome & Iugeme^{tes} of you our prelates & pastures of this
 realme here assembled for that purpose to whos concyence and
 Iugeme^t/ I haue commytted the charge accordyng to the w^{che}
 (god wyllng) we will be Right well contentyd to submyt our
 5 selfe to obbey the same for my part/ wherin after I oons per-
 ceuyved my concyence wondyd w^t the doughtfull case herin/ I
 moved first this matter in confession to you my lord of lyncolne
 (my gostly father)/ And for as myche as than your self ware in
 some dought to geve me counsell/ moved me to axe fether
 10 counsell of all you my lordes/ wherin I moved you first my lord
 of Caunterbury axyng yo^r lycence (for as myche as you ware our
 Metropolytan) to put this matter in question/ And so I dyd of all
 you my lordes/ to the w^{che} ye haue all graunted by writyng vnder
 all yo^r seales/ the w^{che} I haue here to be shewed/ That is truthe
 15 yf it please yo^r highnes (q^d the bysshope of Caunterbury) I
 dought not but all my bretherne here present woll affirme the
 same/ No sir not I/ q^d the bysshope of Rochester ye haue not
 my consent therto/ no hathe/ q^d the kyng/ loke here vppon this
 is not this yo^r hand & seale/ and shewed hyme the Instrument/
 20 [f. 44] w^t Sealles/ No forsothe sir q^d the bysshope of Rochester
 it is not my hand nor seale/ to that q^d the kyng to my lord of
 Canterbury/ Sir howe say ye/ is it not his hand & seale/ yes sir
 q^d he/ that is not so q^d the bysshope of Rochester/ for in dead
 you ware in hand w^t me/ to haue bothe my hand & seale/ as other
 25 of my lordes hathe all redy don/ but than I sayd to you that I
 wold neuer consent to no suche acte for it ware myche agaynst
 my concyence nor my hand & seale shold neuer be seen at any
 suche Instrument (god wyllng) w^t myche more matter touchyng
 the same commynycacion bytween vs/ you say truthe/ q^d the
 30 bysshope of Canterbury suche wordes ye had vnto me/ but at the
 last ye ware fully perswadid that I shold for you subscribe yo^r

1 of *canc. before* of this 3 Iugeme^t *interl.*; concyence *canc. after*
 Iugeme^t; & Iugement *canc. before* accordyng; I wyll *canc. after* w^{che} 4 we
 will be *interl.*; be *canc. before* contentyd 5 self *canc. before* selfe; I *canc.*
before after 7 you *interl.* 8 my lord of lyncoln *canc. before* ware
 9 co *canc. before* counsell 11 myche as you] *M.S.* myche you 12 que
canc. after in 13 vnder *canc. before* by 17 so sir/ with sir/*interl.*
canc. before q^d 18-19 this *interl. before* is 19 Instrument] *M.S.*
 Instrument 20 sea *canc. after* w^t 21 is *interl.* 23 the *canc.*
before he; Rog *canc. before* Rochester 31 resolued & *canc. before* perswadid;
 perswadid *interl.*; put yo^r seale *canc. before* subscribe; subscribe yo^r *interl.*

name and put to a seale my selfe and ye wold allowe the same/
all w^{che} wordes & matter q^d the bysshope of Rochester vnder
yo^r correccion my lord & supportacion of this noble audyence/
ther is no thyng more ontrewē// well well/ q^d the kyng it shall
make no matter we woll not stand w^t you in argumē^t here in for 5
you are but oon man/ And w^t that the Court was aiourned vntill
the next day of ther Session/

The next court day the Cardynalles satte there agayn/ At w^{che}
tyme the Councelles on bothe sydes ware there present/ The
kynges Councell alledged the mariage not good frome the 10
begynnyng by cause of the Carnall knowlege commytted
bytwen prynce Arthure hir first hosbond the kynges brother/
and hir/ thys matter beyng very sore touched & mayntened by
the kynges Councell/ and the contrary defendyd by suche as
toke vppon them to be on that other part w^t the good quene/ 15
And to prove the same carnall copulacion they alleged many
colored reasons and symulitudes of trouthe/ it was answered
agayn negatifyly on the other side by w^{che} it semed that all ther
former allegacions to be very doughtfull to be tried/ so that it
was sayd that no man cowld knowe the trowthe/ yes q^d the 20
bysshope of Rochester/ Ego nosco veritatem howe knowe ye the
trouthe/ q^d my lord Cardynall/ for sothe/ q^d he/ Ego sum
professor veritatis/ I knowe that god is truthe it self nor he neuer
spake but truthe/ w^{che} sayd/ Q^d deus coniunxit homo non
separet/ And for as myche as this mariage/ [f. 44^v] was mad and 25
Ioyned by god to a good entent I say that I knowe the trouthe/
the w^{che} cannot be broken or losed by the power of man vppon
no on fayned occasyon/ So myche dothe all faythfull men
knowe/ q^d my lord Cardynall/ as well as you/ yet this reason is
not sufficent in this case/ ffor the kynges Councell dothe allege 30
dyuers presumcyons to prove the mariage not good at the
begynnyng/ ergo/ say they/ it was not Ioyned by god at the

10 alledged *canc. before* alledged 11 bri *canc. before* begynnyng
12 and *canc. before* the 16 carnall *interl.* 17 colored
interl. 18 w *canc. before* by 20 knew *canc. before* cowld
21 veritatem *interl.*; veryt verytatem *canc. before* howe 22 q^d my lord
canc. after trouthe and yes *after* Cardynall/; first q^d *interl.*; the *canc. before* he
23 therfore *canc. before* I 25 was *interl.* 26-27 w^{che} falced by
god/ *canc. after* trouthe/ the 27 broked *canc. after* be; broken *interl.*; a single
indecipherable letter *canc. before* power 28 on *interl.*; Iust *canc. after* on;
fayned *interl.*; that god hathe made *canc. after* occasyon

begynnyng & therfore it is not lawfull/ for god ordynyth nor
 Ioynyth nothyng w^{out} a Iust order therfore it is not to be
 doughted but that ther presumcyons must be treu as yt playnly
 apperys/ And no thyng can be more true/ in case ther allagacions
 5 cannot be avoyded/ therfore to say that the matremony was
 Ioyned of god/ ye must prove it ferther than by that texte w^{che}
 ye haue alleged for yo^r matter/ for ye muste first avoyd ther
 presumcyons/ Than q^d oon doctor Rydley/ Yt is a shame & a
 great dishonor to this honorable persons that any suche pre-
 10 sumpcyons shold be alledged in this opyn Court w^{che} be to all
 good & honest men most detestable to be rehersed/ what q^d my
 lord Cardynall/ Domine Doctor/ Magis reuerenter/ no no my
 lord/ q^d he/ ther belongyth no reuerence to be gevyn to this
 abhomynable presumcyons ffor an vnreuerent tale wold be
 15 onreuerently answered/ And there they left & procedyd no
 further at that tyme/

Thus thys court/ passed frome Cession to Session and day to
 day/ In so myche that a certyn day the kyng sent for my lord at
 the brekyng vppe oon day of the Court to come to hyme in to
 20 Brydwell/ And to accomplysshe his commaundeme^t he went
 vnto hyme/ And beyng there w^t hyme in commynycacion/ in his
 graces pryve chamber frome xj^{en} vnto xijth of the cloke and past
 at none/ my lord came owte & departed frome the kyng and
 toke his barge at the blake ffriers steiers and so went to hys
 25 howisse at westminster/ the bysshope of Carelyle beyng w^t
 hyme in his barge sayd vnto hyme wpyng the swett frome his
 face/ sir q^d he it is a very hot day/ yea q^d my lord Cardynall/ yf
 ye had byn as well chaffed as I haue byn wⁱⁿ this hower/ ye wold
 say it ware very hott/ And asson as he came home to his howesse
 30 at westminster/ he went incontynent to his naked bed where he

1 not *canc.* before nor; nor *interl.*

3 as *and* playnly *interl.*

4 apperys

canc. before apperys; yet *canc.* before And; And and can be *interl.*

6 it *interl.*

and *canc.* before prove; it and by *interl.*

7 if *canc.* before second

for; second for *interl.* prove wyll *canc.* before muste; muste first *interl.*
 11 be *interl.* rehersed/ what] *MS.* rehersed what

13 the *interl.* and.

canc. before this; this *interl.*

14 matter *canc.* before presumcyons and
 vnreuerent before vnreuerent; presumcyons *interl.*; have *canc.* before be

15 answered/ And] *MS.* answered And

17 passed *interl.*

23 &

canc. before came; at *canc.* before and; and *interl.*

25 westminster/ the]

MS. westminster the; of Carelyle *interl.*

26 of *canc.* before the; the swett

frome *interl.*

27 w^t swett/ *canc.* before sir; is *interl.*

had not lyen fully the space of ij howers but that my lord of
wyltthere came to speke w^t hyme of a messwage frome the
kyng/ my lord hauyng vnderstandyng of his commyng caused
hyme to be brought [f. 45] vnto his beddes side/ And he beyng
there shewed that the kynges pleasure was that he shold 5
incontynent (accompanied w^t thother Cardynall) repayer vnto
the quene at Bridwell in to hir chamber/ to perswade hir by ther
wysdomes Advysyng hir to surrender the hole matter in to the
kynges handes by hir owen wyll & consent w^{che} shold be myche
better to hyr honor/ than to stand to the triall of the lawe/ and to 10
be condempned w^{che} shold be myche to hir slaunder & de-
famacion/ To fullfyll the kynges pleasure/ q^d my lord he was
redy and wold prepare hyme to goo thether owt of hand/ sayeng
further to my lord of wyltthere/ ye and other of my lordes of the
Councell w^{che} be nere vnto the kyng/ are not a littill to blame & 15
mysadvysed to put any suche ffantazis in to his hed wherby ye
are the causers of great troble to all this realme/ And at lengthe
gett you but small thankes owther of god or of the world/ w^t
many other veheme^t wordes & sentences that was lyke to ensewe
of thys matter/ w^{che} wordes caused my lord of wyltthere to 20
water his eyes knelyng all this while bye my lordes beddes syde
and in conclusion departed/ And than my lord Roose vppe &
made hyme redy takyng his barge And went strait to bathe
place to the other Cardynall And so went to gether vnto
Bridwell/ dyrectly to the quenes lodgyng/ And they beyng in 25
hir Chamber of presence/ shewed to the gentilman vssher that
they came to speke w^t the quenes grace/ the gentilman vssher
Aduertised the quene ther of/ Incontynent w^t that she came
owt of hir pryue Chamber w^t a skayn of whight thred about
hir neke in to the chamber of presence/ where the Cardynalles 30
ware gevyng of attendaunce vppon hir Commyng/ At whos
commyng/ q^d she/ Alake my lordes I ame sory to cause you to
attend vppon me/ what is yo^r pleasure w^t me/ if it please you/
q^d my lord Cardynall/ to goo in to yo^r chamber/ we woll shewe

1 ffor *canc. before* fully 7 vnto *canc. before* in; in to *interl.*; hir
chamber] r of hir *written over* s 8 to *canc. after* hir 15-16 mysadvy
canc. after & 18 ne *canc. before* or; or *interl.* 22 Roose *canc.*
before Roose 28 of/ Incontynent] *MS. of* Incontynent 33 me/
what] *MS. me* what 34 cause you *canc. before* shewe

you the cause of our Commyng/ my lord/ q^d she/ Yf ye haue
 any thyng to say speke it opynly byfore all thes folkes ffor
 I feare no thyng that ye can sey or allege ayenst me/ but that
 I wold all the world shold bothe here & se it/ therfor I pray you
 5 speke yo^r mynd opynly/ 'T'han began my lord to speake/ to hir
 in latten// Nay good my lord/ q^d she/ speke to me in Englysshe
 I beseche you/ allthoughe I vnderstand latten/ ffor sothe than/
 q^d my lord/ Madame if it please yo^r grace we come bothe to
 [f. 45^v] knowe yo^r mynd howe ye be disposed to do in thys
 10 matter bytween the kyng & you and also to declare secretly our
 oppynyons & our Councell vnto w^{che} we haue entendyd of very
 zele/ and obedyence that we beare to yo^r grace/ My lordes
 I thanke you than q^d she/ of yo^r good wylls/ but to make
 answare to yo^r request/ I cannot so sodenly for I was sett among
 15 my maydens at worke thynkyng full littill of any suche matter/
 wherin there nedyth a lenger deliberacion and a better hed than
 myn to make answere to so noble wyse men as ye be/ I had nede
 of good Councell in this case w^{che} touchethe me so nere/ And
 for any Councell or frendshype that I can fynd in England are
 20 nothyng to my purpose or profette/ thynke you (I pray you my
 lordes) wyll any Englishe man counsell or be frendly vnto me
 ayenst the kynges pleasure they beyng his subiectes (nay for
 sothe my lordes)/ And for my counsell in whome I do entend to
 put my trust be not here/ they be in Spayn in my natife
 25 Countrie/ Alas my lordes I ame a poore woman lakkyng bothe
 wytt & vnderstandyng sufficyently to answere suche approved
 wyse men as ye be bothe in so waytie a matter/ I pray you to
 extend yo^r good & indifferent myndes in yo^r auctorytie/ vnto me
 for I ame a symple woman destitut & barrayn of frendshype and
 30 Councell here in a forreyn Region/ And as for yo^r Councell
 I woll not refuse but be glad to here/ And w^t that she toke my
 lord by the hand and led hyme in to hyr pryve chamber w^t
 thother Cardynall/ where they ware in long Commynycacion/
 we in the other Chamber myght some tyme here the quene speke

6 q^d she] MS. q^d/ she 7 latten/ ffor] MS. latten ffor 12 u *canc.*
 after yo^r 13 to *interl.* 16 n *canc.* before nedyth
 20 to my *interl.*; my lordes *canc.* before (I 20-21 my lordes *interl.*
 23 to *canc.* before in; in *interl.* 25 Countrie/ Alas] MS. Countrie Alas
 27 ye *interl.* 28 me *interl.* 29 a *interl.* 30 as *interl.*
 31 here/ And] MS. here And

very lowde but what it was we could not vnderstand/ 'Ther
 Commynycacion endyd the Cardynalles departed and went
 directly to the kyng makyng to hyme relacion of ther talke w^t
 the quene/ And after resortyd home to ther howsses to supper//
Thus went thys straynege Case forward frome Court day to 5
 Court day/ vntill it came to Iugemet^t/ So that euery man expected
 the Iugemet^t to be geuyn vppon the case at the next Court day/
 At w^{che} day the kyng came thether and sat w^t in a gallery ayenst
 the doore of the same that loked vnto the Iuges where they satt
 whome he myght se & here speke/ to here what Iugement they 10
 woold geue/ in his sewte/ At w^{che} tyme all ther procedynges ware
 first opynly red in latten/ And that don the kynges learned
 Councell [f. 46] At the barre called fast for Iugemet^t/ w^t that q^d
 the Cardynall Campagious I wyll geue no Iugement herin vntill
 I haue made relacion vnto the Pope of all our procedynges/ 15
 whos Councell & commaundeme^t in thys highe case I wyll
 obserue/ the case is to hyghe (& notable knowen thoroughe all
 the world) for vs to geue any hasty Iugemet^t/ consideryng the
 highenes of the persons and the doughtfull allegacions/ And
 also whos Commyssioners we be/ vnder whos auctorytie we sitt 20
 here/ yt ware therfore reason that we shold make our cheafe hed
 a councell in the same byfore we procede in to Iugemet^t defyny-
 tyfe/ I come not so ferre to please any man for ffre, mede, or
 fauour/ be he kyng or any other potentate/ I haue no suche
 respect to the persons that I woll offend my consience/ I woll 25
 not for fauour or displeasure of any highe estat or myghty prynce/
 do that thyng that shold be ayenst the lawe of god/ I ame an old
 man bothe syke & Impotent loking dayly for deathe/ what shold
 it than avaylle me to put my sowlle in the daynger of goddes
 displeasure to my vtter dampnacion for the fauour of any prynce 30
 or hyghe estate in this world/ my commyng & beyng here is
 oonly to se Iustice mynystred accordyng to my Concyence/ As
 I thoughte therby the matter other good or bade/ And for as
 myche as I do vnderstand and hauyng perceueraunce/ by the

7 Court] t written over d	15 of canc. before vnto	17 case
interl. thought thoroughly//	canc. before knowen	22 defyn-
tytve canc. before defynytyfe	26 prynce] y written over ei	31 world/
my] MS. world my	32 if canc. before As; As interl.	33 &
canc. after good		

allegacions And negacions in this matter layed for bothe the
 parties that the truthe in this Case is very doughtfull to be
 knowen/ and also that the partye defendaut woll make no
 answer ther vnto/ dothe rather Appell frome vs supposyng that
 5 we be not Indifferent/ consideryng the kynges highe dignytie
 And Auctorytie w^t in thys his owen realme/ w^{che} he hathe ouer
 hys owen subiectes And we beyng his subiectes and hauyng our
 lyvynge & dignytes in the same/ she thynkythe that we cannot
 mynester true & Indifferent Iustice for feare of his displeasure/
 10 Therfore to avoyd all thes Ambyguytes and obscure doughtes
 I entend not to dampne my sowle for no prynce or potentate
 alyfe/ I wold therfore (god wyll) wade no further in this
 matter onles I haue the Iust oppynyon & Iugement w^t the
 assent of the Pope/ And suche other of his counsell as hathe
 15 more experyence And better learnyng in suche doughtfull
 lawes than I haue/ [f. 46^v] Wherefore I woll adiourne this Court
 for this tyme accordyng to the order of the Court in Rome frome
 whence this Court & Iurisdiccon is deryved/ And if we shold
 goo further than our commyssion dothe warraunt vs it ware folly
 20 & vayn And myche to our slaunder & blames and myght be for
 the same accompted brekers of the orders of the hygher Court
 frome whence we haue (as I sayd) our orygynall Auctorytes/ w^t
 that the Court was desolued/ And no more plee holden/ **w^t that**
 stept forthe the Duke of Suffolk frome the kyng And by his
 25 commaundem^t spake thes wordes w^t a stought & hault
 countenaunce/ Yt was neuer (q^d he) mery in Englonde whylest
 we had Cardynalles among vs w^{che} wordes ware setforthe w^t
 suche a vehement Countenaunce that all men marvelled what
 he entendyd/ to whome no man made Answer/ The Duke
 30 agayn spake thos wordes in great dispight/ to the w^{che} wordes
 my lord Cardynall (perceyvyng his vehemency) soberly made
 answer And sayd Sir of all men w^t in this Realme ye haue lest
 cause to disprase or be offendyd w^t Cardynalles/ ffor if I symple
 Cardynall had not byn/ ye shold haue had at this present no hed
 35 vpon yo^r sholders wherin ye shold haue a tong to make any
 suche report in dispight of vs who entendyd you no maner of

[3 the interl.

8 lyvynge] v written over u

23 hild *canc.*

after more; plee holden] MS. plee; holden; holden interl.

25 & interl.

31 *es canc.* after lord

displeasure nor we haue geuen you any occasion w^t suche
 dispight to be revenged w^t yo^r hault wordes/ I wold ye knewe
 it my lord that I and my brother here entendyd the kyng and his
 realme as myche honour welthe & quyotnes as ye or any other
 of what estat or degree so cuer he be w^t in this realme/ And wold 5
 as gladly accomplysse his lawfull desier As the poorest subiect
 he hathe// But my lord I pray shewe me/ what wold ye do if ye
 ware the kynges Commyssioner in a fforrayn Region/ hauyng a
 waytie matter to treate vppon And the conclusion beyng
 doughtfull therof wold ye not Aduertise the kynges mat^{ie} or 10
 euer ye went thoroughe w^t the same/ yes, yes, my lord I dought
 not/ Therfor I wold ye shold banysshe yo^r hastie malice &
 dispight owt of yo^r hart/ And consider that we be but com-
 myssioners for a tyme/ And can ne may not bye vertue of our
 commyssion procede to Iugeme^t w^tout the knowlege & concent 15
 of the chefe hed of our auctoritie/ [f. 47] & havyng his concent
 to the same w^{che} is the pope/ therefore we do no lesse ne other
 wyse than our warraunt wyll beare vs/ And if any man wyll be
 offendyd w^t vs therfore he is an vnwyse man/ wherfore my lord
 hold yo^r peace/ and pacyfy yo^r self and frame yo^r tong lyke a 20
 man of honour & of wysdome/ And not to speke so quykly or so
 reprochefully by yo^r frendes ffor ye knowe best what frendshype
 ye haue receyved at my handes/ the w^{che} yet I neuer reveled to
 no person alyve byfore nowe/ nowther to my glory ne to yo^r
 dishonour/ And therw^t the Duke gave ouer the matter w^tout any 25
 wordes to replie and so departed and folowed after the kyng
 w^{che} was goon In to Bridwell at the begynnyng of the Dukes
 first wordes//

Thys matter contynued long thus/ And my lord Cardynall
 was in displeasure w^t the kyng for that the matter in his sewte 30
 toke no better Successe/ the fault wherof was ascribed myche to
 my lord/ notw^tstandyng my lord excused hyme allwayes by his
 Commyssion w^{che} gave hyme no fferther auctoryte to proced in
 Iugeme^t w^tout knowlege of the pope/ who reserued the same to

3 nor *canc.* after I; and *interl.* after I; & *canc.* before the
canc. before other 5 estat or *interl.* 9 And *interl.*
 after not 12 b *canc.* before ye and you before yo^r
 therefore] *MS.* pope therfore; lesse *canc.* before lesse
canc. before at 31 as *canc.* before was

4 other
 10 be *canc.*
 17 pope/
 27 at the by

hymne self/ At the last they were aduertised by ther post that the
 pope wold take delyberacion in respeyght of Iugeme^t/ vntill his
 Courtes were opyned/ w^{che} shold not be a fore Bartholmewetyd
 next/ The kyng considering the tyme to be very long or the
 5 inatter shold be determyned thought it good to send an newe
 ambassett to the pope to perswade hymne to shewe suche
 honorable favoure vnto his grace that the matter myght be soner
 endyd than it was lykly to be/ or elles at the next Court in Rome
 to ruell the matter ouer accordyng to the kynges request/ To this
 10 ambassett was appoynted Doctor Stephyns than Secretary that
 after was made Bysshope of wynchester/ who went thether and
 there taried vntill the latter end of Sommer/ as ye shall here
 after/ The kyng commaundyd the Quene to be removed owt of
 the Court And sent vnto an other place/ and his hyghnes roode
 15 in his progresse w^t M^{rs} Anne Boleyn in his company all the
 grece season/ Yt was so that the Cardynall Campagious made
 Sewte to be discharged that he [f. 47^v] myght retourne agayn to
 Rome/ And yt chaunced that the Secretary w^{che} was the kynges
 Ambassitor to the Pope was retorned frome Rome/ whervpon
 20 it was determyned that the Cardynall Campagious shold resort
 to the kyng at Grafton in Northampton shere and that my lord
 Cardynall shold accompanye hymne thether/ where Campagious
 shold take hys leave of the kyng/ And so they toke ther Iourney
 thether ward frome the More and came to Grafton vpon the
 25 Sonday in the mornyng/ byfore whos commyng ther rose in the
 Court dyuers oppynyons that the kyng wold not speke w^t my
 lord Cardynall and ther vpon ware layed many great wagers/
 Thes ij prelattes beyng come to the Gattes of the Court where
 they alyghted frome ther horssys/ Supposyng that they shold
 30 haue byn receyved by the hed officers of the howsse (as they
 ware wont to be) yet for as myche as Cardynall Campagious was
 but a straynger in effect/ the seyd Officers receyved them and
 conveyed hymne to a lodgyng wⁱⁿ the Court w^{che} was prepared
 for hymne oonly/ And after my lord had brought hymne thus to
 35 his lodgyng/ he left hymne ther & departed supposyng to haue

4 next/ The] MS. next The

5 be *canc.* after shold

6 to

shewe *canc.* after hymne 13 after/ The] MS. after The 15 M^{rs}MS. M^r 17 be d *canc.* before be; be *interl.*21 the *canc.* after that26 not *interl.*30 offic *canc.* before hed

goon directly lyke wyse to his Chamber (as he was accustomed to do) and by the way as he was goyng it was told hym that he had no lodgyng appoynted for hym in the Court and beyng ther w^t astonyed/ Sir herre Norreys grome of the stole w^t the kyng came vnto hym (but wether it was by the kynges commaunde- 5 me^t or no I knowe not) and most humbly offered hym hys Chamber for the tyme vntill an other myght some where be provyded for hym/ ffor sir I assure you (q^d he) here is very littill Rome in this howsse skantly sufficient for the kyng/ therfor I beseeche yo^r grace to accept myn for the season/ whome my 10 lord thanked for his gentill offer/ And went strayt to his chamber/ where as my lord shyfted his ridyng apparell/ And beyng thus in this Chamber/ dyuers noble persons & gentilmen beyng his lovyng ffrendes came to visit hym and to wellcome hym to the Court/ by whome my hed was aduertised of all 15 thynges touchyng the kynges displeasure towards hym w^{che} dyd hym no small pleasure/ & caused hym to be the more redyly provyded of sufficyent excusys for his defence/ Than was my lord aduertysed by M^r Norres that he shold [f. 48] prepare hym self to geve attendaunce in the Chamber of presence ayenst 20 the kynges commyng thether/ who was disposed there to talke w^t hym and w^t the other Cardynall/ who came to my lordes Chamber and they to gether went in to the seyde Chamber of presence where the lordes of the Councell stode in a Rowe/ in order a long the Chamber/ my lord puttyng of his Cappe to 25 euery of theme most gently/ And so did they no lesse to hym/ at w^{che} tyme the Chamber was so ffurnysshed w^t noble men, gentilmen, and other worthy persons that oonly expected the meatyng & the countenaunce of the kyng & hym/ & what entertaynme^t the kyng made hym/ Than Immedyaty after 30 came the kyng in to the Chamber/ and standyng there vnder the Clothe of estate/ my lord kneled down byfore hym who toke my lord by the hand (and so he dyd the other Cardynall) than he

4 grome <i>canc.</i> after Norreys	6 or no <i>interl.</i>	9 littill <i>canc.</i>
before littill; littill <i>interl.</i> ; sufficyently <i>canc.</i> before sufficient		13 of
<i>canc.</i> after dyuers	16 touchyng] <i>MS.</i> touchynges	17 riply
<i>canc.</i> before the	17-18 the more redyly <i>interl.</i>	18 excusys] <i>final s</i>
written over d	19 he <i>interl.</i>	22 the other Cardynall <i>ca. canc.</i>
before who	29 at the meatyng <i>canc.</i> before & what	32 me <i>canc.</i>
after who; toke <i>interl.</i>	33 toke <i>canc.</i> before by	

toke my lord vppe by bothe Armez & caused hyme to stand
 vppe/ whome the kyng receyved w^t as amyable a chere as euer he
 dyd/ & called hyme a side and led hyme by the hand to a
 great wyndowe where he talked w^t hyme And caused hyme to
 5 be Couered/ Than to behold the countenance of thos that had
 made ther wagers to the contrarye/ yt wold haue made you to
 smyle and thus ware they all dyssayved (as well worthy for ther
 presumpcyon) the kyng was in long and earnest commynycacion
 w^t hyme In so myche as I hard the kyng say/ howe can that be/
 10 is not this yo^r owen hand/ and plucked owt frome hys bosome a
 letter or writyng and shewed hyme the same/ and as I perceyved
 that it was answerd so by my lord that the kyng had no more to
 say/ in that matter but sayd to hyme/ my lord goo to yo^r dynner
 and all my lordes here wyll kepe you company/ And after dynner
 15 I wyll resort to you agayn/ and than we woll commen further w^t
 you in this matter/ and so departed/ the kyng dynned that same
 day w^t m^{rs} Anne Boleyn in hir chamber (who kept there an
 estate more lyke a quen than a symple mayd) than was a table
 sett vppe in the chamber of presence for my lord & other lordes
 20 of the Councell where they all dyned together/ and sittyng thus
 at dynner commenyng of dyuers [f. 48^v] matters/ q^d my lord/ it
 ware well don if the kyng wold send his chaplayns and bysshoppes
 to ther Cures and benyfices/ yea mary q^d my lord of Norffolk/
 ye say very well/ And so it ware for you to/ I cowld be contentyd
 25 therw^t very well/ q^d my lord/ if it ware the kynges pleasure to
 graunt me lycence w^t his fauour to goo to my benefice of
 Wynchester/ Nay q^d my lord of Norffolk/ to yo^r benefice of
 yorke where consistithe your greatest honour and charge/ Evyn
 as it shall please the kyng/ q^d my lord/ and so fill in to other
 30 commynycacion/ ffor the lordes ware very lothe to haue hyme
 planted so nyghe the kyng as to be at wynchester/ Immedyaty
 after dynner they fill in secrett talke vntill the wayters had
 dynned/ And as I hard it reported by them that wayted vpon
 the kyng at dynner that M^{rs} Anne Bolleyn was myche offendyd

2 kyng receyved w^t] MS. kyng w^t; as *interl.* before amyable
interl. 7 specyally thos *canc.* before thus; all *interl.*

matter *interl.*; hyme/ my] MS. hyme my

18 lyke *canc.* before more

before planted

23 C. *canc.* after ther

3 &

13 in that

17 (wh *canc.* after chamber

31 ph *canc.*

w^t the kyng/ as ferre as she durst/ that he so gently entertayned
 my lord/ sayeng as she satt w^t the kyng at dynner in com-
 mynycacion of hyme/ Sir/ q^d she/ is it not a marvelous thyng to
 consider what debt & daynger the Cardynall hathe brought you
 in w^t all yo^r subiectes/ howe so swett hart/ q^d the kyng/ ffor sothe/ 5
 sir/ q^d she/ there is not a man w^t in all yo^r realme worthe .v.^{ll}
 but he hathe endettyd you vnto hyme by hys means (meanynge
 by a lone that the kyng had but late of hys subiectes) well, well,
 q^d the kyng/ as for that ther is in hyme no blame/ ffor I knowe
 that matter better than you or any other/ Nay sir/ q^d she/ besides 10
 all that what thynges hathe he wrought w^tin this realme to yo^r
 great slaunder & dishonor/ there is neuer an noble man w^t in
 this realme that if he had don but half so myche as he hathe don
 but he ware well worthy to lease his hed/ Yf my lord of Norffolk/
 my lord of Suffolk/ my lord my father/ or any other noble person 15
 w^t in yo^r realme had don myche lesse than he but they shold haue
 lost ther hedes or thys/ whye than I perceyve/ q^d the kyng ye are
 not the Cardynalles frend/ fforsothe sir than/ q^d she/ I haue no
 cause nor any other man that lovythe yo^r grace/ no more haue
 yo^r grace if ye consider well his doynge// at thys tyme the 20
 wayters had taken vppe the table And so they endyd ther
 commynycacion

Nowe ye may perceyve the old malice begynnyth to breake
 owt and newly to kyndell the brand that after proved to a great
 ffier/ w^{che} was as myche procured by his secrett ennemyes 25
 (touched some thyng byfore) as of hir self/ After all this com-
 mynycacion the dynner thus endyd/ the kyng Rose vppe & went
 Incontynent in to the Chamber of presence where as my lord
 & other of the lordes ware attendyng his commynge/ to whome
 he called my lord/ in to the great [f. 49] wyndowe/ and talked 30
 w^t hyme there a while very secretly/ And at the last the kyng
 toke my lord by the hand and led hyme in to his pryve Chamber
 syttyng there in Consultacion w^t hyme all a lone/ w^tout any other
 of the lordes of the Councell vntill it was nyght/ the w^{che} blanked
 hys ennemyes very sore/ And made them to stere the Coles 35

2 they fill *canc. before* in
 subiectes/] *MS.* yo^r/ subiectes *with* subiectes *interl.*
 at; at *interl.*

4 brought you *interl.*
 20 be *canc. before*
 21 taken *interl.*; dynned *canc. after* taken

5 yo^r
 29 sat at
 30 vnto hyme *canc. after* lord

dynner *canc. before* ware

beyng in dowght what this matter wold growe onto/ havyng
 nowe non other refuge to trust to/ but to M^{rs} Anne in whome
 was all ther hole & firme trust/ and affiaunce/ w^tout whome they
 doughted all ther enterprice but frustrate & voyde/ Nowe/ was
 5 I fayn beyng warned that my lord had no lodgyng in the Court/
 to ride in to the contrie to provyde for my lord a lodgyng/ So
 that I provyded a lodgyng for hyme at an howsse of m^r Empsons
 Called Eston iij^{re} myles frome Grafton/ whether my lord came
 by torche lyght/ it was so late or the kyng & he departyd at whos
 10 departyng the kyng commaundyd hyme to resort agayn erley
 in the mornyng to thentent they myght fynysse ther talke w^{ch}o
 they had than begon & not concludyd/ After ther departyng my
 lord cam to the seyde howsse at Eston to his lodgyng/ where he
 had to supper w^t hyme dyuers of his ffrendes of the Court/ And
 15 syttyng at Supper in came to hyme Doctor Stephyns the
 Secretary late Ambassiter vnto Rome (but to what entent he
 came I knowe not) howebeit my lord toke it that he came bothe
 to dissembell a certyn obedyence & love towards hyme or elles
 to espie hys behauor and to here his Commynycacion at Supper/
 20 Not w^tstandyng my lord bad hyme wellcome/ And commaundyd
 hyme to sytt down at the table to supper/ w^t whome my lord had
 thys commynycacion w^t hyme vnder thys maner/ M^r Secretary
 q^d my lord ye be welcome home owt of Italy whan came ye
 frome Rome/ fforsothe/ q^d he/ I came home allmost a monethe
 25 agoo/ and where/ q^d my lord/ hathe ye byn euer sence/ fforsothe/
 q^d he/ folowyng the Court this progresse/ 'I'han haue ye hunted
 & had good game/ & pastyme/ fforsothe sir/ q^d he/ and so I haue/
 I thanke the kynges ma^{tie}// what good greyhoundes haue ye q^d
 my lord/ I haue some sir/ q^d he/ And thus in huntyng & lyke
 30 [f. 49v] disportes passed they all ther commynycacion at Supper/
 And after Supper my lord and he talked Secretly together vntill
 it was mydnyght or they departed/ The next mornyng my lord
 Rose earely And rode strait to the Court At whos commyng the
 kyng was redy to ride wylling my lord to resort to the counsell
 35 w^t the lordes in his absence And seyde he cowld not tary w^t hyme

2 trust to *canc. before* but5 to *canc. before* beyng

7 howsse

canc. after an8 as *canc. before* my18 an *canc. before* a;hyme *interl.*25 agoo/ and] *MS.* agoo and29 in *canc. after* &34 to *canc. after* resort; to *interl. before* the

commaundyng hyme to retorne w^t Cardynall Campagious who
 hade taken hys leave of the kyng/ where vppon my lord was
 constrayned to take hys leave also of the kyng/ w^t whome the
 kyng departyd amyably in the syght of all men/ the kynges
 soden departyng in the mornyng was bye the specyall labor of 5
 m^{rs} Anne/ who rode w^t hyme oonly to leade hyme abought
 bycause he shold not retorne vntill the Cardynalles ware goon
 the w^{che} departyd after dynner retornyng agayn towardses the
 more/ the kyng Rode that mornyng to vewe a ground for a
 newe parke w^{che} is calld at thys day hartwell parke where m^{rs} 10
 Anne had made provysion for the kynges dynner fearyng his
 retorne or the Cardynalles ware goon/ 'Than rode my lord &
 thother Cardynall after dynner on ther way homward/ And so
 came to the monastory of Seynt Albons/ wherof he hyme self
 was Commendatory/ And there lay oon hole day/ And the next 15
 day they rode to the More/ And frome thence the Cardynall
 Campagious toke his Iourney towardses Rome w^t the kynges
 reward (what it was I ame incerteyn)/ Neuerthelesse after his
 departure the kyng was enformed that he Caried w^t hyme great
 treasures of my lordes conveyed in great Tonnes notable 20
 Sommes of gold & syluer to Rome/ whether they Surmysed my
 lord wold secretly convey hyme self owt of thys realme// In so
 myche that a post was sent spedely after the Cardynall to serche
 hyme/ whome they ouertoke at Calice/ where he was stayed
 vntill serche was made/ there was not so myche mony found as 25
 he receyved of the kynges reward/ And so he was dismyssed
 And went his way [f. 50]

After cardynall/ Campagious was thus departed And goon/
 Mihelmas terme drewe nere Ayenst the w^{che} my lord retourned
 vnto hys howsse at Westminster And whan the terme began he 30
 went to the hall in suche lyke sort and Iesture As he was wont
 most comenly to do/ And sat in the Chauncery beyng chaun-
 celour/ After w^{che} day he neuer sat there more/ the next day he
 taried at home expectyng the commyng of the ij Dukes of

2 where interl. 10 parke *canc. after* newe; day] *MS.* day (; harwell
 parke *canc. before* hartwell parke 13 w *canc. before* homward
 14 the *canc. before* to 19 had *canc. before* Caried 22 of thys
canc. before realme 32 to do *canc. before* most 32-33 chauncelour/
 After] *MS.* chauncelour After 34 of interl. after Dukes

Suffolk & Norffolk w^{che} came not that day/ but the next day
 they Came vnto hyme to whome they declared/ how the kynges
 pleasure was that he shold surrender and delyuer vppe the great
 Seale in to ther handes And to depart symplely vnto Assher
 5 an howsse (cytuat nyghe hampton Court) belongyng to the
 bysshope of wynchester/ my lord vnderstandyng ther messwage
 demaundyng of them what commysion they haue to geve hyme
 any suche commaundeme^t who answered hyme agayn/ that they
 were sufficyent commysioners in that behalf hauyng the kynges
 10 commaundeme^t by his mouthe so to do/ yet/ q^d he/ that is not
 sufficyent for me/ w^tout a ferther commaundeme^t of the kynges
 pleasure/ for the great seale of Englund was delyuerd me by the
 kynges owen person to enioy dewryng my lyfe w^t the mynys-
 tracion of the office & highe Roome of Chauncellershye of
 15 Englund ffor my sewertie wherof/ I haue the kynges letters
 patentes to shewe/ w^{che} matter was greatly debated bytween the
 Dukes & hyme/ w^t many stowt wordes bytween them/ whos
 wordes & chekkes he toke in pacience for the tyme/ In so myche
 that the Dukes ware fayn to departe agayn w^tout ther purpose
 20 at that present And retorned agayn vnto wyndesore to the kyng/
 And what report they made I cannot tell howbeit the next day
 they came agayn frome the kyng bryngyng w^t theme the kynges
 letters/ After the receypte & redyng of the same/ by my lord
 w^{che} was don w^t myche reuerence/ he delyuerd vnto them the
 25 great Sealle/ contentyd to obey the kynges highe commaundeme^t/
 And seyng that the kynges pleasure was to take hys howsse w^t
 the contentes/ was well pleased sympley to depart to Assher
 takyng no thyng but only some provysion for his howsse/ And
 after long talke bytween the Dukes & hyme/ they departed w^t
 30 the great Seale/ of Englund to wyndesore vnto the kyng/
 [f. 50v] Than went my lord and Called all officers in euery office
 in his howsse byfore hyme to take accompte of all suche stuffe
 as they had in charge/ And in his Gallery there was sett dyuers
 tables where vppon a great number of Riche stuffe of sylke in

8 or *canc. before* who9 fo *canc. after* commysioners

10 comm-

aundeme^t] t *frayed away at edge of page*11 by *canc. before* of; of*interl.*15 my *interl.*18 toke *canc. before* toke

28 only

interl. and canc. after but; oon *canc. before* only; only *interl.*

31 Tha

canc. before Than32 take *interl.*

hole peces of all Colours/ as veluett/ Satten/ Damaske/ Caffa/
Taffata/ Grograyn/ Sarcenet/ And of other not in my remem-
braunce/ Also there lay a M^t peces of fynne holand Clothe/
wherof as I hard hyme say after ward ther was Vth peces therof
conveyed bothe frome the kyng & hyme/ ffurthermore ther was 5
also the walles of the gallery hanged w^t clothes of gold & tissue
of dyuers makynge and clothe of syluer in lykewyse/ on bothe
the sydes and riche clothes of Baudkyn of dyuers Colours/ ther
hong also the richest Sewtes of Coopes of his owen provysion
w^{che} he caused to be made for his Colleges of Oxford & Ipsew^{che}/ 10
that euer I sawe in Englund/ Than had he in ij Chambers adioyn-
nyng to the Gallery/ thoon called the gylt Chamber/ and thother
called most Comenly the Councell chamber/ wherein ware sett in
eche ij brode & long tables vppon trestelles where vppon was
sett suche a number of plate of all sortes/ as ware all most 15
Incredyble/ In the gylt Chamber was sett owt vppon the tables
nothyng but all gylt plate/ And vppon a Cupbord standyng vnder
a wyndowe/ was garnysshed all holy w^t plate of cleane gold
wherof Somme was sett w^t peerle & riche stones/ And in the
Councell chamber was sett all wyght plate & parcell gylt/ And 20
vnder the tables in bothe the Chambers ware sett baskettes w^t
old plate w^{che} was not esteemed but for broken plate & old not
worthy to be occupied/ And bokes conteynyng the valewe &
wayte of euery parcell layed by them/ redy to be sen/ And so was
also bokes sett by all maner of Stuffe conteynyng the contentes 25
of euery thyng/ Thus euery thyng beyng brought in good order
& furnysshed he gave the charge of the delyuere therof (vnto the
kyng) to euery officer w^t in his office/ of suche stuffe as they had
byfore in charge/ by Indenture/ of euery parcell/ ffor the order
of his howsse was suche as that euery Officer was charged by 30
Indenture w^t all suche parcelles as belonged to ther office
[f. 51]

Than all thyng/ beyng ordered as it is byfore rehersed my lord
prepared hyme to depart by water/ And byfore his departyng

1 Colours] *MS.* Colourrs

ffurthermore

18 all *interl.* and *canc.* before w^t

conteynyng] *MS.* conteyng

31 of *canc.* before w^t; w^t *interl.*

5 hyme/ ffurthermore] *MS.* hyme

14 sir *canc.* before was

23 conteyned *canc.* before conteynyng;

26 thyng] *g* written over *k*; beyng *interl.*

he commaundyd sir w^m Gascoyn his treasurer to se thos thynges
 byfore remembred delyuerd savely to the kyng at his repayer/
 that don the seyd sir willam seyd vnto my lord/ Sir I ame sory
 for yo^r grace/ for I vnderstand ye shall goo strait way to the
 5 tower// Ys this the good Comfort and counsell q^d my lord/ that
 ye can geve yo^r m^r in aduersitie/ yt hathe byn allwayes yo^r
 naturall Inclynacion to be very light of Credytt and myche more
 lighter in reportyng of falce newes/ I wold ye shold knowe sir
 w^m and all other suche blasphemers that it is no thyng more falce
 10 than that/ ffor I neuer (thankes be to god) deserued by no wayes
 to come there/ vnder any arrest/ allthoughe it hathe pleased the
 kyng to take my howse redy furnysshed for his pleasure at this
 tyme/ I wold all the world knewe and so I confesse to haue no
 thyng other riches, honour, or dignyty that hathe not growen of
 15 hyme & by hyme therefore it is my very dewtie to surrender the
 same to hyme agayn as his very owen w^t all my hart/ or elles
 I ware an onkynd seruaunt/ therfore goo yo^r wayes & geve good
 attendaunce vnto your charge that no thyng be embeselled/ And
 therw^tall he made hyme redy to departe w^t all his gentilmen &
 20 yomen w^{che} was no small nombre/ And toke his barge at his
 privye stayers And so went by water vnto Putney where all his
 horsys wayted his Commyng/ And at the takyng of his barge ther
 was no lesse than a Mⁱ bottes full of men & women of the Citie
 of london waffetyng vppe & down in temmes expectyng my
 25 lordes departyng/ supposyng that he shold haue goon directly
 frome thence to the tower/ where at they reioysed/ And I dare
 be bold to sey that the most part neuer receyved dammage at his
 handes// **O waueryng**/ and newfangled multitude ys it not a
 wonder to consider the inconstant mutabilitie/ of thys oncertyn
 30 world/ the comen peple allwayes desireng alteracions & newel-
 ties of thynges for the strayngenes of the case/ [f. 51^v] w^{che} after
 tournyth them to small profett & commodytie/ ffor if the sequell
 of this matter be well considered & digested ye shall vnderstand
 that they had small cause to tryhumphe at his fall/ what hathe

1 take *canc. after* to4 ye shall shall *canc. before* ye

5 ye can

canc. before q^d8 of *canc. before* in10 by *interl.*

13 tha

canc. before and and me before to15 is *interl.*17 an *interl.*18 therw^t *canc. after* And19 the *canc. after* all; his *interl.*

22 at

*interl.*29 se the *canc. before* consider30 comen] *MS. coen;*desireng] *MS. desirenges*31 for *canc. before* of thynges

succedyd all wyse men dothe knowe/ And the Comen sort of them
 hathe felt/ Therfore to grudge or wonder at it/ suerly ware
 but folly/ 'To study a redresse/ I se not howe it can be holpen/
 ffor the Inclynacion and the naturall disposicion of Englysshe-
 men/ is & hathe allways ben to desier alteracion of officers w^{che} 5
 hathe byn thoroughly fed w^t long contynuaunce in ther romes/
 w^t sufficient riches & possessions/ And they beyng putt owt/
 than commythe an other hongery and a leane officer in his place
 that byttythe nerer the bone than the old/ So the pepill be euer
 pild & pold w^t hongery dogges/ thorough the ther owen desier of 10
 chaynge of newe officers/ nature hathe so wrought in the people
 that it woll not be redressed/ wherfore I cannot se but allways
 men in auctorytie be disdayned w^t the comen sort of men/ And
 suche most of all/ that Iustly mynestrethe equitye to all men
 Indifferently/ ffor where they please some oon w^{che} receyveth 15
 the benefit of the lawe at his handes accordyng to Iustice/ there
 dothe they In lykewyse displease the contrary partie who
 supposith to sustayn great wrong/ where they haue equitye &
 right/ 'Thus all good Iusticers be allwayes in contempte w^t some/
 for executyng of Indifferentcye/ and yet suche mynysters must 20
 be/ ffor if there shold be no mynysters of Iustice/ the world
 shold rone full of error and Abhomynacion and no good order
 kept ne quyotnes among the people/ there is no good man but
 he wyll commend suche Iusticers as dealyth vpp rightly in ther
 romes and reioyse at ther contynuaunce & not at ther fall/ And 25
 whether this be true or no/ I put me to the Iugeme^t of all discret
 persons// nowe lett vs leave & begyn agayn where we left//

Whan he was/ w^t all his trayn arryved & loded at Putnethe he
 toke his mewle and euery man his horsse/ And setting forthe
 not past the lengthe of a payer of Garden buttes he aspiad a man 30
 come ridyng empost down the hyll in Putnethe town/ de-
 maundyng of his ffootmen who they thought it shold be/ And
 they answered agayn and sayd/ that they supposed it shold be
 sir herre Norres/ [f. 52] And by & by he came to my lord &

1 succedyd *canc. before* succedyd *and/all before* all; Comen] *M.S.* Coen 5 &
 offices w^{che} hathe *canc. after* officers 6 lon *canc. after* long 8 an other
interl.; offi *canc. before* and 9 So they .eu *canc. after* old/ 13 comen]
M.S. coen 15 where *interl.*; there *interl.* and *canc. after* where 23 o of
 quyotnes *interl.* 24 rightely *canc. before* rightly; rightly *interl.* 30 a pay
canc. before the 32 shold *canc. before* shold 34 No *canc. before* Norres

salutyd hyme and sayd that the kynges matie had hyme com-
 mendyd to his grace/ and willyd hyme in any wyse to be of good
 chere/ for he was as myche in his highenes fauor as euer he was/
 And so shalbe/ and in tokyn therof/ he delyuerd hyme a ryng of
 5 gold w^t a riche stone w^{che} ryng he knewe very well for it was
 allwayes the prevye tokyn bytween the kyng & hyme whan so
 euer the kyng wold haue any specyall matter dispatched At his
 handes/ And seyde ferthermore that the kyng commaundyd hyme
 to be of good chere & take no thought for he shold not lake/ And
 10 allthoughe the kyng hathe delt w^t you onkyndly as ye supposse/
 he saythe that it is for no displeasure that he beryth you/ but
 oonly to sattysfie more the myndes of some (w^{che} he knowyth be
 not yo^r frendes)/ than for any indygnacion/ And also ye knowe
 right well that he is able to recompence you w^t twyse as myche
 15 as yo^r goodes amountithe vnto/ and all this he bad me that I
 shold shewe you/ therfore sir take pacience/ And for my part
 I trust to se you in better estate than euer ye ware/ But whan he
 hard m^r Norres reherce all the good & comfortable wordes of the
 kyng/ he quykly lyghted frome hys mewle/ all alone as thoughe
 20 he had byn the yongest person among vs/ And in contynent
 kneled down in the dyrte/ vppon bothe his knes holdyng vppe
 his handes for Ioye/ M^r Norres perceyvyng hyme so quykly
 frome his mewle vppon the ground mused & was astoned
 therw^t and therw^t he allyghted also and kneled by hyme en-
 25 bracyng hyme in his armez & axed hyme howe he dyd callyng
 vppon hyme to Credyt his messwage/ M^r Norres/ q^d he/ whan
 I consider yo^r comfortable & Ioyfull newes I can do no lesse
 than to reioyse/ ffor the sodden Ioy surmounted my memory
 haueng no respect nowther to the place or tyme/ but thought it
 30 my very bounden dewtie to render thankses to god my maker
 and to the kyng my souerayn lord & m^r/ who hathe sent me
 suche comfort/ in the very place where I receyved the same/ and
 talkyng w^t m^r Norres vppon his knees in the myer/ he wold haue
 pulled of his vnder Cappe of veluett but he cowlde not [f. 52^v]

1 the] MS. the/; kynges had hyme to *canc.* before kynges 5 the *canc.*
 after was 11 it *interl.* 16 you *interl.* 19 ri *canc.*
 after quykly; horsse *canc.* before mewle 21 dust dirr *canc.* before dyrte
 23 mys *canc.* before & 24 allyghted *canc.* before allyghted; allyghted
 interl. 34 vnder *interl.*

vndo the knott vnder his chyne/ wherfore w^t violence/ he rent
the laces & pulled it frome his hed and so kneled barehedyd/
And that don he couered agayn his hed and aroose & wold haue
mounted his mewle but he cowld not mount agayn w^t suche
agilitie as he lighted byfore where his footmen had as myche a 5
do to sett hyme in his saddell as they could haue/ Than roode he
forthe vppe the hill in the town talkyng w^t m^r Norres/ And
whane he came vppon Putnethe hethe/ M^r Norres toke hys
leave & wold haue departed/ than/ q^d my lord/ vnto hyme/
Gentill Norres if I ware lord of a realme thoon half therof ware 10
insufficient a reward to geve you for yo^r paynnes and good
comfortable newes/ But good M^r Norres consider w^t me that
I haue no thyng left me but my clothes on my baccke/ therfore
I desier you to take this small reward of my handes (the w^{che} was
a littyll chayn of gold made lyke a bottell chayn) w^t a crosse of 15
gold hangyng there at/ wherin was a pece of the holy crosse
(w^{che} he ware contynually abought hys necke next his skyn) And
sayd further more/ I assure you m^r Norres/ that whan I was in
prosperitye/ althoughe it seme but small in valewe/ yet I wold
not gladly haue departid w^t it for the valewe of a Mⁱ 11/ Therfore 20
I besече you take it in gree and where it abought yo^r necke for
my sake/ And as often as ye shall happen to loke vppon it/ haue
me in remembraunce vnto the kynges ma^{tie} as opportunitie
shall serue you/ vnto whos highnes and Clemencye I desyer you
to haue me most lowely commendyd/ ffor whos Charitable 25
disposicion towardes me I can do no thyng but oonly mynyster
my prayer vnto god for the preseruacion of his Royall estate
long to reyn in honour helthe & quyot lyfe/ I ame hys obedyent,
subiect, vassayle, & poore chapleyn And so do entend (god
willyng) to be/ duryng my lyfe/ Accomptyng that of my selfe 30
I ame of no estymacion nor of no substaunce but oonly by hyme
& of hyme/ whome I love better than my self/ and hathe Iustly
& truly serued to the best of my grosse wytt/ And w^t that he toke
m^r Norres by the hand and bad hyme farewell/ And beyng not

2 bareheded *canc. before* barehedyd 5 & *canc. before* as he; byfore *interl.*;
had *canc. before* had 6 haue/ Than] *MS.* haue Than 13 bag
canc. before baccke 16 on *canc. before* there 20 haue *interl.*
21 in *interl.* 25 haue me most] *MS.* haue most 32 my *canc.*
after than 34 f. re *canc. after* not

goon but a small distaunce/ he retourned & called m^r Norres
 agayn/ And whan he was retourned (he sayd vnto hym) I ame
 sorry q^d he/ that I haue no condygn token to send to the kyng/
 but if ye wold at this my request present the kyng w^t this poore
 5 foole/ I trust hys hyghnes wold accept [f. 53] hym well/ suerly
 for a noble mans pleasure he is worthe a M^l ¹¹/ so M^r Norres
 toke the ffoole w^t hym/ w^t whome my lord was fayn to send vj
 of tall yomen w^t hym to conduct & convey the foole to the
 Court/ ffor the poore foole toke on & fired so in suche a rage
 10 whan he sawe that he must nedes departe frome my lord/ yet
 notw^tstandyng they conveyed hym w^t m^r Norres to the Court
 where the kyng receyved hym most gladly///

After the departure/ of M^r Norres w^t hys token to the kyng
 my lord Roode strait to Assher an howsse appurteynyng vnto
 15 the bysshopriche of wynchester/ Cituat w^t in the Countie of
 Surrey not ferre frome hampton Court/ where my lord and his
 ffamely contynued the space of iij^{re} or iij^{or} wekes w^tout beddes/
 shetes table clothes/ Cuppes/ and disshes to eate our meate/ or
 to lye in/ howbeit there was good provision of all kynd of
 20 victualles and of drynk bothe bere & wyn wherof ther was
 sufficient & plentie// My lord was of necessite compelled to
 borowe of the bysshope of Carlylle and of sir 'Thomas Arundell
 bothe disshes to eate hys meate in And plate to drynke in and
 also lynnyn clothes/ to occupie/ And thus contynued he in thys
 25 straynge estate vntill the feast of alhaloutyd was past/ **Yt**
chaunced me vppon alhalou day in the mornyng to come
 there in to the great chamber to geve myn attendaunce where
 I found master Cromwell leanyng in the great wyndowe w^t a
 prymer in his hand sayeng of our lady mattens (w^{che} had byn
 30 synce a very straynge syght) he prayed not more earnestly/ than
 the teares distilled frome his eyes/ whome I bad god morowe/
 And w^t that I perceyved the teares vppon his chekes/ to whome
 I seyde/ wye m^r Cromwell what meanyth all this yo^r sorowe// ys

5 for *canc.* before suerly6 noble] *MS.* noble noble; M^l ¹¹/ so] *MS.*M^l ¹¹ so 8 w^t/ *canc.* before to the 9 & *canc.* before on 10 sh *canc.*after whan 15 bysshopriche of wynchester/] *MS.* bysshopriche/ ofwynchester 18 Coppes *canc.* before Cuppes 21 compelled]*MS.* compiled 24 lynn *canc.* before lynnyn; g *canc.* after lynnyn; hein interl. 25 hall all *canc.* before the 28 found interl.31 I interl. 33 Cromwell] w *written over* ll

my lord in any daynger for whome ye lament thus/ or is it for
any losse that ye haue susteyned by any mysadventure/ Nay,
nay/ q^d he/ it is my onhappie Adventure/ w^{che} ame lyke to losse
all that I haue travelled for all the dayes of my lyfe for doying of
my mayster trwe & [f. 53^v] dyligent seruyce/ why sir/ q^d I/ 5
I trust ye be to wyse to commyt any thyng by my lordes com-
maundeme^t other wyse than ye owght to do of right wherof ye
haue any cause to dought/ of losse of yo^r goodes/ well, well, q^d
he/ I cannot tell but all thynges (I se byfore myn eyes) is as it is
taken/ And thys I vnderstand right well/ that I ame in disdayn 10
w^t most men/ for my m^r sake and suerly w^tout Iust cause/ how-
beit an yll name oons gotten wyll not lightly be put a way/ I
neuer had any promocyon by my lord to thencrease of my
lyvyng/ And thus myche wyll I say to you/ that I do entend (god
wyllng) this after none whan my lord hathe dyned to ride to 15
london and so to the Court/ where I wyll other make or marre or
I come agayn/ I wyll put my self in the prese to se what any man
is Able to lay to my charge of ontrouthe or mysdemeanor/
Mary sir/ q^d I/ In so doying/ in my conceyt ye shall do very well
& wysely (besechyng god to be yo^r gwyde & send you good luke) 20
evyn as I wold my self and w^t that I was called in to the Closett
to se & prepare all thyng redy for my lord/ who entendyd that
day to sey masse there hymeself And so I dyd/ And than my lord
came thether w^t his Chapleyn/ oon doctor Marshall sayeng first
his mattens & herd ij masses on his knees/ And than after he was 25
confessed he hyme self seyde masse/ And whan he had ffynessed
masse & all his dyvyn seruyce/ retorned in to his chamber/ where
he dynned among dyuers of his doctors where as m^r Cromwell
dynned also/ And sitting at dynner it chaunced that my lord
commendyd the true & faythfull seruyce of his gentilmen & 30
yomen wher vppon m^r Cromwell toke an occasion to say to my
lord that in concyence he owght to consider ther treuthe & loyall
seruyce/ that they dide hyme in this his present necessitie w^{che}
neuer forsakyth hyme in all his troble/ yt shall be well don

4 all *canc.* before all that

after & 8 any *canc.* after dought/ of; well

interl. 18 able *canc.* before Able

interl. before his

5 a single indecipherable letter *canc.*

canc. before first well; first well,

19 Mary] r written over y; in

26 self interl.

34 in *canc.*

therefore sayd he/ for yo^r grace to caulle theme byfore you/ all
thes yo^r most worthy gentilmen & right honest yomen/ And lett
them vnderstand that ye right well consider ther pacience,
treuthe & faythfulness/ and than geve them yo^r commendacion
5 w^t good wordes & thanks w^{che} shalbe to them great [f. 54]
corage to sustayn yo^r myshape in pacient misery And to spend
ther lyfe And substaunce in yo^r seruyce/ Alas Thomas/ q^d my
lord/ vnto hyme ye knowe I haue no thyng to geve theme/ And
wordes w^tout deades be not often well taken ffor if I had as I
10 haue had of late/ I wold depart w^t them so ffrankly As they
shold be well content but no thyng hathe no savour And I ame
a shamed and also sory that I ame not able to requyte ther
faythfull seruyce/ And allthoughe I haue cause to reioyse con-
syderyng the ffidelite that I perceyve in the number of my
15 seruauntes who wyll not departe frome me in my miserable
estate but be as dyligent, obedyent And seruysable abought me
as they ware in my great tryhumphant glorye yet do I lament
agayn the want of substaunce/ to distribut among them/ why sir
q^d m^r Cromwell/ haue ye not here a number of chapleyns to
20 whome ye haue departed very liberally w^t sperytuall promo-
cions/ In so myche as Somme may dispend by yo^r graces prefer-
ment A Mⁱ markes by the yere And Some .V^cth markes And
some more and some lesse/ ye haue no oon chapleyn w^t in all
yo^r howsse or belongyng vnto you but he may dispend at the
25 least well by yo^r procureme^t or preferment/ iij^c markes/ yerely
who had all the profettes and avuntages at yo^r handes And thes
yo^r seruauntes non at all And yet hathe yo^r poor seruauntes taken
myche more payn for you in oon day than all yo^r Idell chapleyns
hathe don in a yere/ therfore if they woll not freely and frankeley
30 consider yo^r liberalitie/ And depart w^t you of the same goodes
gotten in yo^r seruyce/ nowe in yo^r great Indygence & necessitie/
it is pitie that they lyve/ And all the world woll haue them in
Indignacion & hatred for ther abhomynable Ingratytude to ther
m^r & lord/ I thynke no lesse/ Thomas/ q^d my lord/ wherfore

1 caulle *canc. before caulle*; all *interl.*

13-14 consyderyng *interl.*

8 knowe *canc. before knowe*

14 to consyder *canc. before the ffidelite*

22 C *canc. after Some* 26 the *interl.*; and avuntages *interl.*; and *canc. before*

at. 27 non at all *interl.* 32 lyfe *canc. before lyve* 33 abhomynable]

MS. abhomynable

cause all my seruantes to be callyd & to assemble w^{out} in my
great chamber After dynner and se them stand in order/ And
I wyll declare vnto them my mynd accordyng to yoor^r advise/
After that the bordes end was taken vppe M^r Cromewell came to
me & sayd/ hard ye not what my lord sayd evyn [f. 54^v] nowe/ 5
yes sir/ q^d I/ that I dyd/ well than/ q^d he/ assemble all my
lordes seruantes vppe in to the great chamber/ And so I did
and whan they ware all there assembled I assigned all the
gentilmen to stand on the right side of the chamber/ And the
yomen on the lyft side/ And at the last my lord came thether 10
apparelled in a whyht rochet vppon a violett gown of clothe
lyke a bysshope who went strait in to the great wyndowe/
Standyng there/ a while and his chapleyns abought hym
beholdyng the number of his seruantes devydyd in ij partes
cowl not speke vnto them for tendernes of his hart the floode of 15
teares that distilled frome his eyes declared no lesse/ the w^{che}
perceyved by his seruantes caused the fountayns of water to
Gushe owt of ther faythefull hartes down ther chekes in suche
aboundaunce/ as it wold cause a Cruell hart to lament/ at the last
after he had torned his face to the wall & wyped his eyes w^t his 20
hand kercheffe he spake to them after this sort in effect/// **Most/**
faythfull gentilmen/ and trewe hartyd yomen/ I do not oonly
lament yo^r personal presence abought me/ but I do lament my
negligent Ingratitude towardses you all/ on my behalf/ In whome
hathe byn a great default that in my prosperytie hathe not don 25
for you/ as I myght haue don other in word or deade w^{che} was
than in my power to do/ But than I knewe not my Ioyelles &
specyall treasures that I had of you (my faythfull seruantes) in
my howsse but nowe approved experience/ hathe taught me/
and w^t the eyes of my discession (w^{che} byfore ware hyd) do 30
perceyve full well the same/ there was neuer thyng that repen-
tythe me more that euer I dyd than dothe the remembraunce

3 accordyng *canc. before* accordyng 5 nowe *canc. after* evyn 8 whan
interl. 10 ru *canc. before* yomen and on *before* on 14 demvydyd *canc.*
before devydyd 15 cowl *canc. before* cowl 15-16 of *canc. before*
of teares 18 *first* ther and faythefull *interl.*; faythe *canc. before* faythefull
19 lament/at] *M.S.* lament at 21 in *canc. before* after; after *interl.*
22 lament *canc. before* oonly 24 who *canc. after* behal/ 25 not
interl. 29 ap of approved *interl.* 30 byfore *canc. before*
byfore 31 same/ there] *M.S.* same there

of my oblyvuous negligence & ongentilnes that I haue
 not promoted or preferred you to condygn Romes & prefer-
 mentes accordyng to yo^r demerites/ howbeit it is not onknown
 vnto you all that I was not so well furnysshed of temperall
 5 avauncement^{es} as I was of sperytuall prefermentes/ And if I shold
 haue promoted you to any of the kynges offices & Romes/ than
 shold I haue incurred the Indignacion of the kynges seruauntes/
 who wold not [f. 55] myche lett to report in euery place behynd
 my bake that there cowlde no office or rome of the kynges gyft
 10 escape the Cardynall & his seruauntes/ And thus shold I incurre
 the obloquye & slaunder byfore all the hole world/ But nowe it
 is come to this passe that it hathe pleased the kyng to take all
 that euer I haue in to his possession/ So that I haue no thyng
 laft me but my bare clothes vppon my bake the we^{che} be but
 15 symple in comparyson to thos that ye haue seen me haue or this/
 howebet if they may do you any good or pleasure/ I wold not
 stykke to devyde them among you/ yea/ and the skyne of my
 bake if it myght countervaylle any thyng in valewe among you/
 but good gentilmen & yomen my trusty & faythefull seruauntes/
 20 of whome no prynce hathe the lyke/ in my oppynyon/ I most
 hartely requyer you to take w^t me some pacience a littill whyle/
 ffor I dought not but that the kyng consideryng the offence
 suggested ayenst me by my mortall ennemyes to be of small
 effect woll shortly I dought not restore me agayn to my lyvvynges
 25 so that I shall be more able to devyd some part therof yerely
 among you/ wherof ye shalbe well assured/ ffor the surplusage
 of my revenues what so euer shall remayn at the determynacion
 of my accomptes/ shalbe (god wyll) distributed among you/
 ffor I woll neuer hereafter esteeme the goodes & riches of this
 30 oncertyn world but as a vayn thyng/ more than shalbe sufficient
 for the mayntenaunce of myn estate & dignytie that god hathe
 or shall call me vnto in this world duryng my lyfe/ And if the
 kyng do not thus shortly restore me/ than woll I se you bestowed
 accordyng to yo^r owen requestes/ and wright for you owther to
 35 the kyng or to any other noble person w^t in this Realme to
 reteyn you in to seruyce/ for I dought not but that the kyng or

2 pro *canc. before* Romes

place

*interl.*18 in valewe *interl.*31 god *interl.*7 shold *interl.*23 me *interl.*8 place *canc. before*

25 therof

any noble man or worthy gentelman of this Realme woll credytt
 my letter in yo^r commendacion/ Therfore in the meane tyme/
 myn advyse is that ye repayer home to yo^r wyfes (suche as hathe
 any) And suche among you as hathe none to take thys tyme to
 visett yo^r parentes and frendes in the Contrie/ Ther is none of 5
 you all but oons in a yere wold requyer licence/ [f. 55^v] to visit
 yo^r wyfes & other of yo^r frendes/ take this tyme (I pray you) in
 respect therof/ And at yo^r retourne I wyll not refuse you if I
 shold begge w^t you/ I consider that the seruyce of my howsse
 hathe byn suche and of suche a sort that ye be not meate or apte 10
 to serue no man vnder the degree of a kyng/ Therfore I wold
 whishe you to serue no man but the kyng/ who I ame suer wyll
 not reiect you/ Therfore I desier you to take yo^r pleasures for a
 monyth and than ye may come agayn vnto me/ And I trust by
 that tyme the kyng matie wyll extend hys clemency vppon me/ 15
 Sir q^d m^r Cromwell/ there is dyuers of thes your yomen that
 wold be glad to se ther ffrendes but they lake mony/ therfore
 here is dyuers of yo^r Chaplens/ who hathe receyved at yo^r
 handes great benefices & highe dignytes/ lett them therfore nowe
 shewe them selves vnto you as they are bound by all humanitye 20
 to do/ I thynke ther honestie & charite ys not so slender and
 voyed of grace that they wold not se you lake where they may
 helpe to refresshe you/ And for my part Allthoughe I haue not
 receyved of yo^r graces gyft any oon penny towards thencrese of
 my yerely lyvyng yet wyll I departe w^t you this towards the 25
 dispetche of yo^r seruauntes (And delyuerd hyme v^{ll} in gold)
 And nowe lett vs se what yo^r chapleyns wyll do/ I thynke they
 wyll departe w^t you myche more than I haue don/ who be more
 able to geve you a pound than I oon penny/ Goo to maysters q^d
 he to the Chapleyns/ In so myche as some gave hyme/ x^{ll}/ Some 30
 x^{en} marc/ Some C^s/ And so some more and Some lesse as at that
 tyme ther powers did extend/ wherby my lord Receyved among
 theme as myche mony of ther liberalitie as he gave to eche of his
 yomen a quarters wages & bord wages for a monyth/ And they

1 worthy <i>interl.</i>	2 you <i>canc. before my</i>	3 I <i>canc. before</i>
myn	4 hathe] <i>MS. hahe</i>	7 tyme <i>interl.</i>
Therfore] <i>MS. you</i>	Therfore	16 yomen] <i>MS. yoman</i>
<i>interl.</i>	28 two indecipherable letters <i>canc. before I</i>	32 g <i>canc.</i>
before Receyved		

departed down in to the hall/ where some determyned to goo to
 ther frendes/ And some sayd that they wold not departe frome
 my lord vntill they myght se hyme in better estate/ My lord
 retorned in to his chamber lamentyng the departure frome his
 5 seruauantes makyng his mone vnto m^r Cromwell who comforted
 hyme the best he cowlde/ And desired my lord to geve hyme
 leave to goo to london where he wold other make or marre or he
 came agayn (w^{che} was allwayes his comen sayeng) than after long
 Commynycacion w^t my lord in secret he departed [f. 56] and
 10 toke his horsse and Rode to london at whos departyng I was bye/
 whome he bade farewell/ And sayd/ ye shall here shortly of me
 And if I spede well I wyll not fayle to be here agayn w^t in thes ij
 dayes/ And so I toke my leave of hyme/ And he rode forthe on
 his Iourney/ Sir Rafe Sadler (nowe knyght) was than his Clarke/
 15 and rode w^t hyme//

After that my lord had Supped that nyght (beyng allhalou
 day at nyght) And all men goon to bed/ yt chaunced so abought
 mydnyght/ that oon of the Porters came vnto my chamber doore
 And there knocked/ And wakyng of me perceyved who it was/
 20 Axed hyme what he wold haue/ that tyme of the nyght/ sir q^d
 the porter/ there is a great number of horsse men at the gate
 that wold come In/ sayeng to me that it is sir Iohn Russhell/
 And so it apperys to me by his voyce/ what is yo^r pleasure that
 I shall doo/ Mary q^d I/ goo down agayn And make a great fier
 25 in yo^r lodge ayenst I come to drye them/ for it rayned all that
 nyght the sorest that it dyd all that yere byfore/ than I Roose and
 put on my nyght gown/ And came to the gattes And asked who
 was there/ w^t that m^r Russell spake whome I knewe by his
 voyce/ And than I caused the porters to opyn the gattes and lett
 30 them all In/ who ware wette to the skyn desyryng m^r Russell to
 goo in to the loge to the fier/ And he shewed me that he wase
 come frome the kyng/ vnto my lord in messwage w^t whome he
 requyred me to speke/ Sir/ q^d I/ I trust yo^r newes be good/ yea
 I promyse you on my fidelitie/ q^d he/ And so I pray you showe
 35 hyme/ I haue brought hyme suche newes that wyll please hyme

3 my lord *interl.* 8 comen] *MS. coen* 10 his leave *canc. before his*
 12 ye shall here of me *canc. before I wyll* 21 is *interl.* 23 it *canc. before yo^r*
 25 drye *interl.*; dry *canc. before them* 26 r *canc. after the; roose canc. before*
 Roose 31 me *interl.* 35 hyme *canc. before hyme/ I and you before suche*

right well/ Than will I goo q^d I/ and wake hyme/ And cause
 hyme to rise/ I went Incontynent to my lordes chamber doore/
 and waked my lord who asked me what I wold haue/ Sir sayd I/
 to shewe you that sir Iohn Russell is come frome the kyng who
 is desirous to speke w^t you/ And than he called vppe oon of his 5
 gromes to lett me In/ And beyng w^t in/ I told hyme what a
 Iourney M^r Russell had that nyght/ I pray god/ q^d he/ all be for
 the best/ [f. 56v] yes sir q^d I/ he shewed me/ And so bad me tell
 you that he had brought you suche newes as ye woll greatly
 reioyse there at/ well than/ q^d he/ god be praysed and wellcome 10
 be his grace/ goo ye and fetch hyme vnto me/ And be that tyme
 I woll be redy to talke w^t hyme/ than I retourned frome hyme to
 the logge/ And brought m^r Russhell frome thence to my lord/
 who had cast on his nyght gown And whan m^r Russell was come
 in to his presence/ he most humbly Reuerencyd hyme vppon his 15
 knee/ whome my lord bowed down and toke hyme vppe and
 bad hyme welcome/ Sir q^d he the kyng commendyth hyme vnto
 you/ And delyuerd hyme a great Ryng of gold w^t a Turkkas for
 a tokyn/ And willyd you to be of good chere/ who lovythe you
 as well as euer he dide/ and is not a littill disquyoted for yo^r 20
 trouble/ whos mynd is full of yo^r remembraunce/ In so myche as
 his grace byfore he satt to Supper called me vnto hyme/ And
 commaundyd me to take this Iourney secretly to visit you to yo^r
 comfort the best of my power/ And sir if it please yo^r grace I
 haue hade this nyght the sorest Iourney for so littill a way that 25
 euer I had to my remembraunce/ My lord thanked hyme for his
 paynnes and good newes/ And demaundyd of hyme if he had
 Supped/ And he seyde nay/ well than q^d my lord to me/ Cause
 the Cookes to provyd some mete for hyme/ And cause a
 chamber w^t a good ffier to be mad redy for hyme that he may 30
 take hys rest a while vppon a bed/ all w^{che} commaundeme^t I
 fulfilled/ And in the mean tyme my lord & m^r Russell ware in
 very secrett commynycacion/ And in fynne/ M^r Russell went

5 you interl.

7 he *canc.* before M^r

8 yees *canc.* after best/

12 hyme to interl.; my lord interl. and *canc.* after hyme

14 gere *canc.*

before nyght; nyght] *MS.* / nyght

16 vppe interl.

20 a littill interl.

21 trouble] *MS.* troubled

22 he *canc.* before called

25 that *canc.*

before that

29 s *canc.* before mete

31 commaundeme^t] *MS.*

commaunde^t

to his chamber takyng his leave of my lord for all nyght/ And
 sayd he wold not tary but a while for he wold (god wylling) be
 at the Court at Grenew^{che} agayn byfore day/ ffor he wold not
 for any thyng that it ware knowen his beyng w^t my lord that
 5 night/ And so beyng in his chamber havynge a small repast/
 Rested hym a while vppon a bedd whillest his seruauntes
 Supped & dried them selves by the ffier/ [f. 57] And than
 incontynent he roode a waye w^t spede to the Court/ And shortly
 after hys beyng there/ my lord was restored agayn vnto plenty of
 10 howsshould stuff, vessell and plate/ And of all thynges necessary
 some part so that he was indifferently ffurnysshed muche better
 than he was of latte/ And yet not so aboundauntly as the
 kynges pleasure was/ the default wherof was in the officers &
 in suche as had the ouer sight of the delyuere therof/ And
 15 yet my lord reioysed in that littill in comparison to that he had
 byfore///

Nowe lett vs retourne agayn to m^r Cromwell to se howe he
 hathe sped sence his departure last frome my lord/ **The case**
 stode so that ther shold begyn shortly after Allhaloutyd the
 20 parlyament/ And beyng w^t in london devised w^t hym self/ to be
 oon of the Burgious of the parliament/ And chaunced to mete w^t
 oon sir Thomas Russhe knyght (a specyall frend of his) whos
 Sonne was appoynted to be oon of the Burgious of that parlia-
 ment/ of whome he opteyned his rome/ And by that means put
 25 his foote in to the parliament howsse/ Than w^t in ij or iij^{re} dayes
 after his entre in to the parliame^t/ he came vnto my lord to
 Assher/ w^t a myche pleasaunter Countenaunce/ than he had at
 his departure/ And meatyng w^t me byfore he came to my lord
 sayd vnto me/ that he had oons adventured to put in his foote
 30 where he trusted shortly to be better regardyd or all ware don/
 And whan he was come to my lord they talked to gether in
 secrett maner And that don he roode owt of hand agayn that
 nyght to london/ because he wold not be absent frome the
 parliament the next mornynge/ There cowlde no thyng be spoken

5 night/ And] *MS.* night And 6 *two indecipherable letters canc. after*
 hym a 8 shortly *interl.* 11 he *interl.* 13 by *canc. after*
 wherof was 18 sped *canc. before* sped; last *interl.* 21 *second of]*
MS. of of 22 his)] *MS.* his/ 25 howsse *canc. before* howsse
 30 better *interl.* 30-31 don/ And] *MS.* don And

ageynst my lord in the parliament howsse but he wold answer
it incontynent or elles take day vntill the next day/ ayenst w^{che}
tyme he wold resorte to my lord to knowe what Answere he shold
make in his behalf/ In so myche that there was no matter alleged
ayenst my lord but that he was euer redy furnysshed w^t an 5
sufficient Answere/ So that at lengthe for his honest behauour in
his m^{rs} case he grewe in to suche estymacion in euery mans
oppynyon that he was estymed to be the [f. 57^v] most faythe-
fullest seruau^t to his m^r of all other/ wherin he was of all men
greatly commendyd/ 'T^han was there brought a byll of Articles 10
in to the parliament howsse to haue my lord condempned of
treason/ Ayenst w^{che} byll m^r Cromwell enveyed so discretly, w^t
suche wytty perswacions & depe reasons that the same byll
cowlde take there no effect/ than ware hys ennemyes compelled
to endyght hyme in a Premunire/ And all was don oonly to the 15
entent to entitill the kyng to all his goodes & possessions the
w^{che} he had gathered together and purchased for his Colleges
in Oxford & Ipsew^{che}/ And for the mayntenaunce of the same
(w^{che} was than abyldyng in most Somptuous wyse) wherin whan
he was demaundyd by the Iugges (w^{che} ware sent hyme purposly 20
to examyn hyme what answere he wold make to the same) he
seyd/ The kynges highnes knowyth right well wether I haue
offendyd hys ma^{tie} & his lawes or no/ in vsyng of my prerogatif
legantyn for the w^{che} ye haue me endighted/ Notw^tstandyng I
haue the kynges lycence in my Coffers vnder his hand & broode 25
seale/ for excersisyng and vsyng the auctorytie therof in the
largest wyse w^hin his highenes domynyons/ the w^{che} remaynyth
nowe in the handes of my Ennemyes/ therfor bycause I woll not
stand in question or triall w^t the kyng in his owen case/ I ame
content here of myn owen ffranke wyll & mynd in yo^r presence 30
to confesse the offence in the indyghtment/ And put me holly
in the mercy & grace/ of the kyng/ hauyng no doughtes in his
godly disposicion & charitable concience/ whome I knowe hathe
an highe discession to concyder the trouthe and my humble
submyssion & obedyence/ And allthoughe I myght Iustly stand 35

1 answer] *MS.* answered

6 for *interl.*

8 most *canc.* after the

9 he *canc.* before he

10 in *canc.* before a

20 for that *canc.* after

hyme

32 hauyng *interl.*; put *canc.* before no

35 thoughe of

allthoughe *interl.*

in the tryall w^t hyme ther in/ yet I ame content to submyt my
 self to his clementsye/ And thus myche ye may say to hyme in
 my behalfe/ that I ame Intierly his obedyencer/ and do entend
 (god wyllng) to obey & fulfill all his pryncely pleasure in euery
 5 thyng that he will commaund me to do/ whos wyll & pleasure I
 neuer yet disobeyed or repugned/ but was allwayes contentyd
 & glade to accomplysse his desier & commaundement (byfore
 god) whome I owght most rather to haue obeyed/ the we^{che}
 negligence nowe greatly repentithe me/ Notw^tstandyng [f. 58]
 10 I most hartely requyer you/ to haue me most humbly to hys
 Royall mat^{tie}/ commendyd for whome I do & wyll pray for the
 preseruacion of his Royall person long to rayn in honour,
 prosperyte & quyotnes and to haue the victory ouer his mortall
 & kankard ennemyes/ And they toke ther leave of hyme &
 15 departyd/ **Shortly after** the kyng sent the Duke of Norffolk vnto
 hyme in message/ (but what it was I ame not certeyn) But my
 lord beyng Aduertised that the Duke was commyng evyn at
 hand/ he caused all his gentilmen to wayt vppon hyme down
 thoroughe the hall in to the base Court to receyve the Duke at
 20 the entre of the gattes and commaundyd all his yomen to stand
 still in the hall in order/ And he and his gentilmen went to the
 gattes/ where he encountred w^t my lord of Norffolk whome he
 receyved/ bare hedyd/ who embraced eche other/ And so led
 hyme by the Arme thoroughe the hall in to his chamber/ And as
 25 the Duke passed thoroughe the hall/ at the vpper end therof he
 torned agayn his visage down the hall Regarding the number of
 the tall yomen/ that stode in order/ there/ & sayd/ Sirs/ q^d he/
 yo^r diligent & faythefull seruauce vnto my lord here (yo^r m^r) in
 this tyme of his Calamyte hathe purchased for yo^r self/ of all noble
 30 men/ myche honestie/ In so myche as the kyng commaundyd me
 to say to you in his graces name/ that for yo^r trewe & lovyng
 seruyce that ye haue don to yo^r m^r/ his highnes woll se you all
 furnysshed at all tymes w^t seruyce accordyng to yo^r demerittes/
 w^t that my lord Cardynall put of hys cappe/ And sayd to my

5 will interl. 7 to *canc. before* & glade; his *canc. before* his 8 to
 haue obeyed] *MS.* to obeyed 11 I *canc. before* do 12 his
 interl. 16 certeyn)] *written over* / 18 awayt *canc. before* wayt;
 wayt interl. 22 w^t interl.; lord *canc. before* lord 26 two in-
 decipherable letters *canc. before* torned 34 that interl.

lord of Norffolk/ Sir/ q^d he/ thes men be all approved men
 wherfore it ware pitie they shold want other seruyce or
 lyvynges/ And beyng sorrey that I ame not able to do for them
 as my hart dothe whisshe/ Do therfore requyer you my good
 lord to be good lord vnto theme/ and extend yo^r good word for 5
 theme when ye shall se opportunitie/ at any tyme hereafter/ And
 that ye wyll preferre ther dyligent & faythfull seruyce to the
 kyng/ Dought ye not therof/ q^d my lord of Norffolk/ but I wyll
 do for them the best of my power/ and when I shall se cause I
 wylbe an earnest sewter for them to the kyng/ And Some of you 10
 I wyll [f. 58^v] Retayn myself in seruyce for yo^r honestes sake/
 And as ye haue begon/ so contynewe and remayn here still w^t
 my lord vntill ye here more of the kynges pleasure/ goddes
 blessing & myn be w^t you// And so went vppe in to the great
 chamber to dynner/ whome my lord Cardynall thanked & sayed 15
 vnto hyme yet my lord of all other nobyll men I haue most
 cause to thanke you/ for yo^r noble hart & gentill nature w^{che} ye
 haue shewed me behynd my bakke/ as my seruau^t Thomas
 Cromwell hathe made report vnto me/ but evyn as ye are a noble
 man in deade so haue ye shewed yo^r self no lesse to All men in 20
 Calamytie/ And in especyall to me/ And evyn as ye haue abated
 my glory & highe estate and brought it full lowe/ so haue ye
 extendyd yo^r honorable fauour most charitably vnto me beyng
 prostrate byfore ye/ forsothe sir ye do Right well deserue to
 bere in yo^r armez the noble & gentill lion/ whos naturall 25
 Inclination is that whan he hathe vanqiesshed Any best And
 seyth hyme yelded lyeng prostrate byfore hyme at his foote/
 than wyll he shewe most clemency vnto his vanquysht & do
 hyme no more harme/ ne suffer any other devouryng beste to
 dammage hyme/ whos nature and qualitie ye do ensewe/ 30
 therefore thes verses may be Ascribed to yo^r lordshyppe/ w^{che} be
 thes/

*Parcere prostratis/ Scit nobilis Ira leonis/
 Tu quoque fac Simile/ quisquis regnabis in orbem/*

1 Norffolk *canc. before* Norffolk

over &; 7 fa *canc. before* faythfull

22 for *canc. before* and; and *interl.*; it *interl.*

do *interl.* 25 the] *MS.* the the

canc. before Ascribed

2 th *canc. before* it; or] *written*

18 behynd] h *written over* g

24 do *canc. before* do;

30 and *interl.*

31 askribed

W^t that the water was brought them to wasshe byfore dynner/
 to the w^{che} my lord called my lord of Norffolk to washe w^t
 hyme/ but he refused of Curtesy/ And desired to haue hyme
 excused/ And sayed that it became hyme not to presume to
 5 wasshe w^t hyme any more now than yt dyd byfore in his glory/
 yes forsothe q^d my lord Cardynall ffor my Auctory & dignyte
 legantyn is goon wherin consisted all my highe honour/ A
 Strawe q^d my lord of Norffolk for yo^r legacye/ I neuer esteemed
 yo^r honour/ the more or higher for that/ but I regarded yo^r
 10 honour for that ye ware Archebysshope of yorke and a Cardynall/
 whos [f. 59] estate of honor surmountythe any duke nowe
 beyng w^t in this realme/ And so wyll I honor you/ And acknow-
 loge the same And beare you reuerence accordyngly therfore I
 beseche you content yo^r self for I woll not presume/ to wasshe
 15 w^t you/ And therfore I pray you hold me excused/ than was my
 lord Cardynall constrayned to washe alone/ And my lord of
 Norffolk all alon also/ whan he had don/ And whan he had don
 my lord Cardynall wold fayn haue had my lord of Norffolk to
 sytt down in the chayer in the Inner side of the table/ but suerly
 20 he refused the same also w^t myche humblenes/ than was there
 sett an other chayer for my lord of Norffolk ouer ayenst my
 lord Cardynall/ on the owt side/ of the table/ the w^{che} was by my
 lord of Norffolk based some thyng benethe my lord/ And duryng
 the dynner all ther commynycacion was of the dyligent seruyce
 25 of the gentilmen w^{che} remayned w^t my lord there/ attendyng
 vppon hyme there at dynner/ And howe myche the kyng and all
 other noble men dothe esteme theme/ w^t worthy commendacions
 for so doying And at thys tyme howe littill they be esteemed in
 the Court that are come to the kynges seruyce/ and forsaken
 30 ther m^r in his necessitie/ wherof some he blamed by name/ and
 w^t this Commynycacion the dynner beyng endyd/ they roose
 frome the table and went together in to my lordes bedd
 Chamber/ where they contynued in Consultacion a certyn
 season/ And beyng there/ yt chaunced m^r Shelley the Iuge to

3 hyme *canc. before* to
canc. before consisted

13 beare *canc. before* beare
canc. before fayn

before was

5 glory *canc. before* glory

11 surmountythe] *M.S.* surmountythe

16-17 of Norffolk all *interl.*

21 an other *canc. before* chayer

7 sto

18 haue

22 b *canc.*

come thether sent frome the kyng/ wherof Relacion was made
to my lord/ w^{che} caused the Duke & hyme to breke vppe ther
commynycacion/ And the Duke desired to goo in to some
chamber to repose hyme for a season/ And as he was commyng
owt of my lordes chamber he mete w^t M^r Shelley to whome m^r 5
Shelley made Relacion of the cause of hys commyng/ And
desierd/ the duke to tary & assist hyme in doying of hys mess-
wage/ whome he denyed and sayd/ I haue no thyng to do w^t
yo^r messwage wherein I woll not meddell And so departed in to
a Chamber where he toke his rest for an hower or ij [f. 59^v] And 10
in the mean tyme my lord issued owt of hys chamber/ And came
to m^r Shelley to knowe his message/ who declared vnto hyme
(after dewe salutacion) That the kynges pleasure was to haue
his howesse at westminster (than Called yorke place) belongyng
to his bysshopriche of yorke/ entendyng to make of that howsse 15
a palice Royall/ And to possesse the same accordyng to the
lawes of thys hys graces realme/ his highnes hathe therfore sent
for all the Iugges and for all his learned Councell to knowe ther
oppynyons in the assuraunce therof/ In whos determynacions it
was fully resolued that yo^r grace shold recognyse byfore a Iugge 20
the right therof to be in the kyng & his Successors/ And so his
hyghnes shalbe assured therof/ Wherefore it hathe pleased his
ma^{tie} to appoynt me by his commaundeme^t to come hether
to take of you this recognysaunce/ who hathe in you suche
Affiaunce/ that ye will not refuse so to do accordyngly/ Therfore 25
I shall desier yo^r grace to knowe yo^r good will therin/ M^r
Shelley/ q^d my lord/ I knowe that the kyng of his owen nature
is of a Royall stomake/ and yet not wylyng more than Iustice
shall leede hyme vnto by the lawe/ And therfore I counsell you
& all other fathers of the lawe & learned men of his Councell to 30
put no more in to his hed than the lawe may stand w^t good
conciencie/ ffor whan ye tell hyme (this is the lawe) it ware well
done ye shold tell hyme also/ that allthoughe thys be the lawe/
yet this is concyence/ ffor lawe w^t out concyence is not good to

4 he interl. 5 che *canc.* after m^r 6 hys *canc.* before the
13 was interl. 17 realme/ his] *MS.* realme his; therfore *canc.* before and
after therfore; therfore interl. 19 pleasures *canc.* before oppynyons;
it interl. 20 I *canc.* before Iugge 21 as *canc.* before so
22 Wher for his *canc.* before Wherefore 25 r *canc.* before not
30 s *canc.* after the 32 well interl.] *MS.* wold interl.

be geuyn vnto a kyng in counsell to vse for a lawfull right/ but
 allwayes to haue a respect to Concyence/ byfore the rigor of the
 comen lawe/ ffor (laus est facere q^d decet/ non q^d licett)/ the
 kyng owght of his Royall dignytie and prerogatif to mytgat
 5 the Rigor of the lawe where concyence hathe the most force/
 tharfore in his Royall place of equall Iustice/ he hathe constitute
 a Chauncelour/ an officer to execcut Iustice w^t clemencye/ where
 concyence is oppressed by the Rigor of the lawe/ And therfore the
 Court of Chauncery hathe byn heretofore [f. 60] comenly called
 10 the Court of concyence/ by cause it hade Iurysdiccion to com-
 maund the highe mynysters of the Comen lawe to spare
 execucion & Iugeme^t where concience had most effecte/ ther-
 fore I say to you in this case allthoughe you and other of yo^r
 profession perceyve by yo^r learnyng that the kyng may by an
 15 order of yo^r lawes lawfully do that thyng w^{che} ye demaund of
 me/ howe say you m^r Shelley may I do it w^t Iustice & concyence/
 to geve that thyng away frome me & my Successors w^{che} is non
 of myn/ if this be lawe w^t concience/ shewe me yo^r oppynyon/
 I pray you/ fforsothe my lord/ q^d he/ there is some concyence in
 20 this case/ but hauyng regard to the kynges highe power/ And to
 be employed to a better vse & purpose/ it may the better be
 suffred w^t concyence/ who is sufficient to make recompence/ to
 the chirche of yorke w^t doble the valewe/ That I knowe well/ q^d
 my lord/ but here is no suche condicion/ nother promysed ne
 25 agreed/ but oonly a bare & symple departure w^t an others right
 for euer/ And if euery bysshope may do the lyke/ than myght
 euery prelate/ geve away the patremony of ther chirches w^{che} is
 non of thers And so in processe of tyme leue no thyng for ther
 Successors/ to mantayn ther Dignytes/ w^{che} all thynges con-
 30 sydered shold be but small to the kynges honour/ Sir I do not
 entend to stand in termes w^t you in this matter/ but lett me se
 yo^r commyssion/ to whome m^r Shelley shewed hyme the same/
 And that seen and perceyved by hyme sayed agayn/ thus/ M^r
 Shelley/ q^d he/ ye shall make report to the kynges highnes/ that
 35 I ame his obedyent subiect & faythfull chapleyn & bedman whos

5 where concyence *interl.*

11 Comen] *MS.* Coen

14 the *canc.*

before an 22 is *canc.* after who

30 s *canc.* before but; honour/

Sir] *MS.* honour Sir 32 hyme *interl.*

33 th this *canc.* before

thus

35 sub. . *canc.* before subiect

Royall commaundeme^t & request I wyll in no wyse disobey but
most gladly fulfill & accomplysshe his pryncely will & pleasure
in all thynges and in especyall in this matter in as myche as ye
the ffathers of the lawes say that I may lawfully do it/ therfore
I charge yo^r conciences & dischargethe myn/ howbeit I pray you 5
shewe his ma^{tie} frome me/ that I most humbly desier his
highenes to call to his most gracious remembraunce/ that there
is bothe hevyn & hell/ [f. 60^v] And there w^t the Clarke was
called who wrott my lord recognysaunce/ And after some secret
talke/ m^r Shelley departed/ Than Roose my lord of Norffolk 10
frome his repose/ And after Somme comynycacion w^t my lord/
he departed/

Thus/ contynued my lord at Assher who receyved dayly
messwages/ frome the Court/ wherof some ware not so good as
some ware badd/ but yet myche more evyll than good/ ffor his 15
ennemyes perceyvyng the great affeccion that the kyng bare
allwayes toward hyme/ devysed a mean to disquyot & disturbe
his pacience thynkyng therbye to geve hyme an occasion to frett
& chafe that deathe shold rather ensewe than encrease of
helthe or lyfe the w^{che} they most desired/ They feared hyme 20
more after his fall than they did before in his prosperytie/
doughtyng myche hys readopcion in to auctorytie by reason
that the kynges fauour remayned still towards hyme in suche
sorte/ wherby they myght rather be in daynger of ther estates
than in any assuraunce/ ffor ther cruelltie mynesterd by ther 25
malicious Invencions surmysed & brought to passe ayenst hyme//
Therfore they toke this order among theme in ther matters/ that
dayly they wold send hyme some thyng or do some thyng ayenst
hyme wherin they thought that they myght geve hyme a cause of
hevenes or lamentacion/ As some day they wold cause the kyng 30
to send for iiij^{or} or v of hys gentilmen/ frome hyme to serue the
kyng/ And some other day they wold lay matters newly Invented
ayenst hyme/ An other day they wold take frome hyme some of

4 w ^t out <i>canc. before</i> therfore	11 comynycacion <i>interl.</i>	15 ware
badde with the re written over s. <i>canc. before</i> ware		16 enneyes <i>canc.</i>
<i>before</i> ennemyes	19 sh <i>canc. before</i> deathe	20 two <i>indecipher-</i>
<i>able letters</i> <i>canc. before</i> or	22 myche <i>canc. after</i> doughtyng; he <i>canc.</i>	
<i>before</i> hys and au <i>before</i> auctorytic; hys <i>interl.</i>	25 to hyme with	
to <i>interl. canc. before</i> by	27 toke this] <i>MS. toke/ this</i>	30 fynd
<i>canc. before</i> cause		

hys promotions or of ther promotions whome he preferred
 byfore/ than wold they fetch frome hym some of his yomen/ in
 so myche as the kyng toke in to seruyce xvj^{en} of theme at oons/
 and at oon tyme/ put them in to his gard/ this order of lyfe he
 5 led continually/ that there was no oon day, but or euer he went
 to bed he had an occasion greatly to chafe or frette the hart owte
 of his bellye/ but that he was a wyse man and bare all ther
 malice in pacyence/ At Cristmas he fell sore syke that he was
 lykly to dye/ Wherof the kyng beyng aduertysed was very sory
 10 therfore/ And sent doctor buttes his graces phecision vnto hym
 to se in what estate he was/ Doctor Buttes [f. 61] came vnto
 hym and fyndyng hym very syke lyeng in his bedd and
 perceyvyng the daynger he was in/ repayred agayn vnto the
 kyng/ of whome the kyng demaundyd sayeng/ howe dothe
 15 yonder man haue you seen hym/ yea sir q^d he/ howe do ye lyke
 hym/ q^d the kyng/ fforsothe/ sir q^d he/ yf you wold haue hym
 deade/ I warraunt yo^r grace/ he wyll be deade w^t in this iiij^{or}
 dayes (if he receyve no comfort frome you shortly and m^{rs} Anne/
 Mary (q^d the kyng) (God forbod) that he shold dye)/ I pray you
 20 good M^r Buttes goo agayn vnto hym And do yo^r cure appon
 hym/ ffor I wold not loose hym for xx M^l 11/ Than must yo^r
 grace/ q^d m^r Buttes/ send hym first some comfortable message/
 as shortly as is possible/ Evyn so wyll I/ q^d the kyng/ by you/
 And therfore make sped to hym agayn/ And ye shall delyuer
 25 hym frome me thys Rynge/ for a tokyn of our good wyll and
 fauor towardes hym (in the w^{che} ryng was engraved the kynges
 visage w^t in a Rubye as lyvely counterfeyt as was possible to be
 devysed) thys Ryng he knowyth very well for he gave me the
 same/ And tell hym that I ame not offendyd w^t hym in my
 30 hart no thyng At All/ And that he shall perceyve (and god send
 hym) lyfe very shortly/ Therfore byd hym be of good cheare
 and pluke vppe his hart & take no dispayer/ And I charge you
 come not frome hym vntill ye haue brought hym owte of all

1 promotions *canc.* after hys; to *canc.* before whome 3 in
interl. 4 and *canc.* before put; his *canc.* before lyfe; they *canc.* before he
 4-5 he led *interl.* 5 led w^t hym *canc.* before continually 6 or]
written over & 12 bedd *canc.* before bedd 16 wold *interl.*
 19 mary *canc.* before Mary; god f *canc.* before (God 23 wyll I/ q^d]
MS. wyll/ I q^d]; by *interl.* 31 hym *canc.* before first hym; lyfe *interl.*
 32 f *canc.* before vppe

daynger of deathe/ And than he spake to m^{rs} Anne sayeng/
 Good swett hart I pray you at this my instaunce (as ye love vs)
 to send the Cardynall a token w^t comfortable wordes/ And in so
 doying ye shall do vs a lovyng pleasure/ She beyng not mynded
 to disobey the kynges earnest request (what so euer she 5
 entendyd in hyr hart towards the Cardynall) toke incontynent
 hir tablett of gold hangyng at hir girdell And delyuerd it to m^r
 Buttes w^t very gentill & comfortable wordes/ in commendacion
 to the Cardynall/ And thus m^r Buttes departed and made spedy
 retorne to Assher to my lord Cardynall/ After whome the kyng 10
 sent Doctor Clement/ Doctor Wotten/ & doctor Cromer the
 scott/ to consult and assist M^r Buttes for my lordes helthe/ After
 that m^r Buttes had byn w^t my lord and delyuerd the kynges
 & m^{rs} Annes tokens vnto hyme/ w^t the most comfortablest
 wordes he [f. 61^v] cowlde devyse on ther behalf/ wherat he 15
 reioysed not a littill/ aduauncyng hyme a littill in his bedd And
 receyved thes tokens most Ioyfully thankyng m^r Buttes for his
 comfortable newes & paynnes/ M^r Buttes shewed hyme further
 more that the kynges pleasure was that he shold mynester vnto
 hyme for hys helthe/ And for the most assured and brefe wayes 20
 to be had for the same/ hathe sent Doctor wotten/ Doctor
 Clement/ And Doctor Cromer/ to Ioyn w^t hyme in counsell &
 mynystacion/ Therfore my lord/ q^d he/ it ware well don that
 they shold be called in to visett yo^r person & estate/ wherin
 I wold be glad to here ther oppynyons/ trustyng in allmyghty 25
 god that thoroughe his grace and assistaunce we shall ease you
 of yo^r paynnes and rid you clean frome yo^r disease and
 Infirmytie/ wherw^t my lord was well pleased & contented to
 here ther Iugeme^{tes}/ ffor in deade he trust more to the Scottysse
 doctor than he did to any of thother/ by cause he was the very 30
 occasion that he inhabytid here in Englund/ and byfore he gave
 hyme partly his exebicion/ in Paris/ than whan they ware come
 in to hys chamber and had talked w^t hyme/ he toke vppon hyme
 to debate his dessease learnedly among theme/ So that they

1 spake *canc. before* than 2-3 vs) to] *MS. vs/ to* 5 the k *canc.*
before earnest 16 hyme a littill *interl.* 20 and brefe *interl.*
 23 mynystacion/ Therfore] *MS. mynystacion* Therfore 24 in of
 wherin *interl.* 26 we shall *canc. after* grace 28 *superscript t canc.*
between w and h of wherw^t

myght vnderstand that he was seen in that art// After they had taken order for mynystracion it was not long or they brought hyme owte of all daynger & feare of dethe/ And wthin iiij^{or} dayes they sett hyme on his fecte/ And gott hyme a good stomake to his
 5 meate/ thys don/ And he in a good estate of amendeme^t/ they toke there leave/ to departe/ to whome my lord offered his reward/ the w^{che} they refused seyeng that the kyng gave them in specyall commaundeme^t to take no thyng of hyme for ther paynnes and mynystracion/ ffor at ther retourne/ his highnes
 10 seyde that he wold reward theme of his owen costes/ And thus wth great thanks they departid frome my lord/ whome they left in good estate of recouere//

After thys tyme my lord dayly amendyd/ and so contynued still at Assher vntill Candyllmas/ ayenst w^{che} ffeast the kyng caused
 15 to be sent hyme ij^{re} or iiij^{or} Cartloades of stuffe/ And most parte therof was lokked in great standerdes (excepte beddes & kytchyn stuffe) wherin was bothe plate [f. 62] and Riche hangynges/ And chappell stuffe/ Than my lord beyng thus ffurnyssed was therwth well contented/ Allthoughe/ they whome the kyng
 20 assigned did not delyuer hyme so good ne so riche stuffe as the kynges pleasure was/ yet was he loyous therof And rendred most humble thanks to the kyng/ And to theme that appoynted the seyde stuffe for hyme/ Sayeng to vs his seruantes At the openyng of the same stuffe in the standerdes/ the w^{che} we
 25 thought and sayde it myght haue byn better if it had pleased them that appoynted it/ Nay sirs q^d my lord/ to vs/ he that hathe no thyng is glad of somewhat thoughe it be neuer so littill/ And allthoughe it be not in comparison halfe so myche & good as we had byfore/ yet we reioyse more of this littill than we dyd byfore
 30 of the great aboundaunce that we than hade/ And thanked the kyng very myche for the same/ trustyng after thys to haue myche moore/ therefore lett vs all reioyse & be glade that god & the kyng hathe so graciously remembred to restore vs to some

4 good *canc.* before gott; gott *interl.*

canc. before them

7 y *canc.* after first the; thy

15 vnto my lord *canc.* after sent; hyme *interl.*

24 byfore *canc.* after stuffe; hyme/ that were *canc.* before in; that where
 q^d he/ *canc.* after standerdes; the w^{che} *interl.*

25 and sayd

interl. 26 sirs *interl.*

28 so *canc.* before halfe

29 herof *canc.*

before we reioyse

30 than *interl.*

32 myche and be *interl.*; of

canc. before that

thynges to mayntayn our estate lyke a noble person/ Than
 commaunded he m^r Cromwell beyng w^t hym to make sewt to
 the kynges ma^{tie} that he myght remove thence to some other
 place/ ffor he was very of that howsse of Assher/ for w^t con-
 tynuall vse therof the howsse waxed onsavery/ supposyng that if 5
 he myght remove frome thence he shold myche soner recouer
 his helthe/ And also the Councell had putt in to the kynges hed
 that the newe gallery at Assher (w^{che} my lord hade late byfore his
 fall newly sett vppe/) shold be very necessary for the kyng to
 take down & sett it vppe agayn at westminster/ w^{che} was don 10
 accordyngly/ And standes at this present day there/ the takyng
 a way therof byfore my lordes face was to hyme a Corrysife/
 w^{che} was Invented by hys ennemyes oonly to torment hyme/ the
 w^{che} in dede discouraged hyme very sore to tary any lenger there/
 Nowe m^r Cromwell thought it but vayn & myche folly [f. 62^v] 15
 to move any of the kynges Councell to assist & preferre hys sewte
 to the kyng (among whome rested the number of hys mortall
 ennemyes) for they wold owther hynder his removyng or elles
 remove hyme ferder frome the kyng than to haue holpen hyme
 to any place nyghe the kynges comen trade/ Wherefore he 20
 refused any sewte to theme & made oonly sewte to the kynges
 owen person/ whos sewte the kyng gracyously hard And thought
 it very convenient to be graunted And thorough the specyall
 mocyon of m^r Cromwell the kyng was well contentyd that he
 shold remove to Rychemond w^{che} place my lord had a littill 25
 byfore repayred to his great cost & charge/ ffor the kyng had
 made an exchange therof w^t hym for hampton Court/ all this
 his removyng was don w^t out the knowlege of the kynges
 Councell/ for if they myght haue had any Intelligence therof
 byfore/ than wold they haue perswaded the kyng to the contrary/ 30
 but whan they ware aduertised of the kynges graunt & pleasure/
 they dissimuled ther countenaunces in the kynges presence/ ffor

4 wase *canc. after* howsse 5 waxed onsavery/ MS. waxed/
 onsavery 6 recouer *canc. before* remove 11 and *canc. after*
 accordyngly/ 12 therof *interl.* 13 Invented *with d written*
 over f *canc. before* Invented; Invented *interl.* 14 very sore *interl.*
 16 his *canc. before & and pro before* preferre 19 ferder *interl.*; ferre
canc. before frome; e *canc. after* than 20 comen *interl.* 21 oon
canc. before oonly; oonly *interl.* 24 well *interl.* 29 Co *canc.*
before Councell

they ware greatly affrayed of hyme/ lest his nyghe beyng to the
 kyng myght at lengthe some oon tyme resort to hyme and so
 call hyme home agayn/ considering the great affection & love
 that the kyng dayly shewe towards hyme/ Wherefore they
 5 doughted hys risynge agayn if they found not a mean to remove
 hyme shortly frome the kyng/ In so myche that they thought it
 convenyent for ther purpose to enforme the kyng vppon certeyn
 consideracions w^{che} they Invented/ that it ware very necessary
 that my lord shold goo down in to the Northe/ vnto his benefice
 10 of yorke/ where he shold be a good staye for the Contree/ to the
 w^{che} (the kyng supposynge that they had ment no lesse than good
 faythe) grauntyd and condyssendyd to ther suggestion w^{che} was
 fferced w^t so wonderfull Imagyned consideracions/ that the kyng
 (vnderstandynge no thyng of ther Intent) was lightly perswaded
 15 to the same/ **Whervppon** the Duke of Norffolk commaundyd
 m^r Crommwell (who had dayly accesse vnto hyme) to say to my
 lord that it is the kynges pleasure that he shold w^t spede goo to
 his benefice where lyethe his cure/ and looke to that accordynge
 to his dewtie/ M^r Cromwell at his next repayer to my lord
 20 declared vnto hyme what my lord of Norffolk sayd/ who lay
 [f. 63] than at Richemonde/ howe it was determyned that he
 shold goo to his benefice/ Well than Thomas/ q^d my lord/ seynge
 ther is non other remedy I do entend to go to my benyfice of
 wynchester/ And I pray you 'Thomas so shewe my lord of
 25 Norffolk/ contentyd sir/ q^d m^r Cromwell/ And Accordynge to hys
 commaundem^t dyd so/ to the w^{che} my lord of Norffolk answerd/
 and seyde what wyll he do there/ Nay/ q^d he/ lett hyme goo in to
 his provynce of yorke/ wherof he hathe receyved his honor/ and
 there lyethe the sperytuall borden & charge of his concyence/ as
 30 he owght to do/ and so shewe hyme/ The lordes who ware not
 all his ffrendes/ hauynge intelligence/ of his entent/ thought to
 w^tdrawe his appetite ffrome wynchester/ wold in no wyse per-
 mytt hyme to plant hyme self so nyghe the kyng/ Movyd therfore
 the kyng to geve my lord but a pencion owt of wynchester

1 re *canc.* after nyghe2 to *canc.* before some

4 hyme/

Wherefore] MS. hyme Wherefore

6 thought interl.

11 lesse]

MS. lesse)

11-12 than good faythe interl.

12 fo *canc.* before was21 to go to *canc.* before that

24 so interl.

25 sir interl.

27 and seyde interl.; in interl.

29 of his *canc.* before &

32 no

canc. before in

and to distribut all the rest among the nobilitie & other of
his worthy seruantes And in lyke wyse to do the same w^t the
revenues of Seynt Albons and of the revenues of his Colleges in
Oxford & Ipswich/ the w^{che} the kyng toke in to his owen
handes/ Wherof m^r Cromwell had the receypte & gouernaunce 5
a fore be my lordes assigneme^t/ In consideracion therof it was
thought most convenyent that he shold haue so styll/ Not-
w^tstandyng owt of the reveueus of wynchester & seynt Albons
the kyng gave to some oon noble man iij^c markes & to some Cⁱⁱ
And to some more & to some lesse accordyng to the kynges 10
royall pleasure/ Nowe m^r Cromwell executed his office the
w^{che} he had ouer the londes of the colleges so Iustly and exactly
that he was had in great cstimacion/ for his wytty behauor
therin/ And also for the treu, faythfull & dyligent seruyce
extendyd towards my lord his m^r/ That it came at lengthe so to 15
passe that thos to whome the kynges ma^{tie} hade gevyn any
Annuites or ffees for terme of lyfe by patent/ owte of the
fornamed Revenewes/ cowld not be good but duryng my lordes
lyfe/ for as myche as the kyng had no lenger estate or title
therin/ w^{che} came to hyme by reason of my lordes attendure in 20
the premunire/ And to make ther estates good & sufficient
accordyng to ther patentees/ it was thought necessary to haue my
lordes confirmacion vnto ther grauntes/ And this to be brought
aboutht there was non other [f. 63^v] mean but to make sewte to
m^r Cromwell to atteyn ther confirmacion/ at my lordes handes/ 25
whome they thought myght best/ opteyn the same/ Then began
bothe noble man & other who had any patentees of the kyng owte
other of Wynchester or Seynt Albons/ to make earnest sewte to
m^r Cromwell for to Solicite ther causes to my lord to gett of
hyme his confirmacions/ And for his paynnes therin susteyned/ 30
they promysed euery man not oonly worthely to reward hyme
but also to shewe hyme suche pleasures as shold at all tymes lye
in ther seuerall powers/ Wherof they assured hyme/ Wherin
m^r Cromwell perceyvyng an occasion and a tyme gevyn hyme/

2 And *canc. before* And 16 my lord *canc. after* whome; the kynges
interl.; anuities gevyn *with* gevyn *interl. canc. before* gevyn 17 by patent
interl. 19 they kyng *canc. before* the 22 necessary *interl.*
23 grauntes] MS. grauntes 31 not *canc. before* they 34 an
canc. after and; a *interl.*

- to worke for hyme selfe And to bryng the thyng to passe ^{w^{che}}
 he long wysshed for/ Entendyd to worke so in thes matters to
 serue ther desiers/ that he myght the soner bryng his owen
 enterpryce to purpose/ Than at his next resort to my lord he
 5 moved hyme privyely in this matter to haue his counsell and hys
 advyse/ And so by ther wytty hedes it was devysed that they
 shold worke to gether by oon lyne to bryng by ther pollecyes
 m^r Cromwell in place & estate where he myght do hymeself
 good and my lord myche profett///
- 10 **Nowe began matters**/ to worke to brynge M^r Cromwell in to
 estymacion in suche sort as was afterward myche to his
 encrease of dygnyte And thus euery man hauyng an occasion to
 sewe for my lordes confirmacion made nowe earnest travell to
 m^r Cromwell for thes purposes/ who refused non to make
 15 promyse that he wold do hys best in that case/ And havyng a
 great occasion of accesse to the kyng for the disposicion of
 dyuers londes wherof he had the order & gouernaunce/ by
 means wherof and by his witty demeanor/ he grewe contynually
 in to the kynges favor/ as ye shall here after in this history/ But
 20 first lett vs resorte to the great busynes abought the assuraunce
 of all thes patentes ^{w^{che}} the kyng hathe geuyn to dyuers noble
 men & other of his seruantes wherin m^r Cromwell made a
 countenaunce of great sewte to my lord for the same that in
 processe of tyme he serued all ther tornes so that they had ther
 25 purposes/ And he ther good wylles/ thus roose hys name &
 frendly acceptaunce w^t all men/ the fame of his honestie
 & wisdomes sounded so in the kynges eares that [f. 64] by reason
 of his accesse to the kyng he perceyved to be in hyme no lesse
 wysdome than fflame had made of hyme report/ for as myche as
 30 he had the gouernaunce & receyptes of thos londes ^{w^{che}} I
 shewed you byfore/ And the conference that he had w^t the kyng
 therin enforced the kyng to reput hyme a very wyse man and a
 meate Instrume^t to serue his grace/ As it after came to passe/
Sir nowe the lordes thought long to remove hyme farther

3 b *canc.* before myght4 re s *canc.* before resort

5 privyely

interl.; for *canc.* after matter; to haue his counsell and interl.

8 he

interl.

9 good *canc.* before good and after myche; good interl.; twoindecipherable letters *canc.* before my; profett] MS. & profett23 c *canc.*

before great

24 processe of] MS. processe/ of

28 to interl.

after perceyved

frome the kyng and owte of hys comen trade/ Wherfore (among
other of the lordes) my lord of Norffolk seyde to m^r Cromwell/
Sir/ q^d he/ me thynkythe/ that the Cardynall yo^r m^r/ makythe
no hast northeward/ shewe hym that if he goo not a way
shortly/ I wold rather then he shold tary still/ teare hym w^t my 5
teathe/ Therfore I wold advyse hym to prepare hym a waye/
as shortly as he can/ or elles he shalbe sent forward/ Thes
wordes m^r Cromwell reported to my lord at his next repayer to
hyme/ who than had a Iust occasion to resort to hym for the
depeche of the noble mens & others patentes/ And here I wyll 10
leave of this matter & shewe you of my lordes beyng at
Richemond

My lord havyng licence of the kyng to repayer & remove to
Richemond wherfore my lord made hast to prepare hym
thetherward And so he came and lodged wthin the great parke 15
there/ w^{che} was a very pritty howsse & a nett/ lakyng no neces-
sarie Romes that to so small a howsse was conuenient &
necessary where was to the same a proper garden garnysshed w^t
dyuers plesaunt walkes & alies/ my lord contynued in thys loge
frome the tyme that he came thether shortly after Candylmas 20
vntyll it was lent w^t a pryve number of seruantes by cause of
the smalnes of the howsse/ And the rest of hys famely went to
bord wages/ I wyll tell you a certyn tale/ by the way of Com-
mynycasion **Sir as my lord** was accustomed towardes nyght
to walke in the garden there to sey his seruyce/ it was my 25
chaunce than to wayt vppon hym there/ and standyng still in an
alie/ [f. 64^v] wyllst he in an other walked w^t his chapleyn
sayeng of his seruice/ And as I stode I aspied certyn Images of
beastes counterfeit in tymber standyng in a corner vnder the
loge wall/ to the w^{che} I repayed to behold/ Among whome I 30
sawe there a Dwn Cowe/ wheron I mused most by cause it semed
me to be the most lyvelyest entaylled among all the rest/ My
lord beyng (as I sayd) walkyng on the other side/ of the Garden/
perseyved me/ came sodenly apon me at my bake onwares

1 comen] <i>MS. coen</i>	3 m ^{re} <i>canc. before m^r</i>	9 an <i>canc.</i>
before a	20 shortly <i>interl.</i>	21 small nom <i>canc. before</i>
pryve	23 his <i>canc. before bord; tell you interl.</i>	26 hym
<i>interl.</i>	29 temp <i>canc. before tymber</i>	31 mused <i>canc. before</i>
mused		

sayd what haue ye espied here that ye so attentifely looke
 vppon/ fforsothe if it please yo^r grace/ q^d I/ here I do behold thes
 entaylled Images the w^{che} I suppose ware ordered for to be sett
 vppe w^t in some place/ abowght the kynges place howbeit sir
 5 among them all I haue most considered the Dwn Cowe/ the
 w^{che} as it semyth me/ the worke man hathe most apertly shewed
 hys Connyng/ yea marye sir/ q^d my lord/ vppon thys dwn Cowe
 dependyth a certyn prophesy/ the w^{che} I woll shewe you for
 paraduenture ye neuer hard of it byfore/ Ther is a sayeng/ q^d
 10 he/ that whan this Cowe ridyth the bull/ than prest beware thy
 skull/ w^{che} prophecye nother my lord that declared it ne I that
 hard it/ vnderstod theeffect of thys prophecye/ allthoughe that
 evyn than it was a workyng to be brought to passe/ ffor this
 Cowe the kyng gave as oon of his beastes appurteynnyng of
 15 antiquytie vnto his Erelome of Richemond w^{che} was his
 auneynt enheritaunce/ this prophecy was after expoundyd in
 this wyse/ This doon Cowe (because it was the kynges beast)
 betokened the kyng/ And the bull bytokened m^{rs} Anne Bulloyn
 (w^{che} was after Quene & the kynges wyfe)/ bycause hyr ffather
 20 Sir 'Thomas Bulloyn gave the same best in his cognysaunce/ So
 that whan the kyng had married hyr (the w^{che} was than onknowen
 to my lord/ or to any other at that tyme/) Than was thys
 prophecy thought of all men to be ffulfilled// ffor what a number
 of prestes bothe religious & seculer lost ther heddes for offendyng
 25 of suche lawes as was than made to bryng this prophecye to
 effect yt is not onknowen to all the world// [f. 65]

Therfor it was Iuged of all men that this prophecy was than
 ffulfyll whan the kyng & she ware Ioyned in mariage/ Nowe howe
 darke & obscure ridelles and prophecyes be/ you may behold in
 30 thys same/ ffor byfore it was brought to passe/ there was not the
 wysest prophicier coud perfectly discus it/ as it is nowe come to
 effect & purpose/ I trust therfore (be myn advyse) to no kynd of
 darke Riddelles & prophecyes/ where ye may (as many hathe
 byn) be disseyved and brought to distruccion/ And many tymes

1 vnto me *canc. before* sayd5 this *interl. and canc. before* Dwn6 apertly *interl.*; apertly *canc. before* shewed9 byfore/ Ther] *MS.*byfore Ther 12 not *canc. before* theeffect13 it *interl.*

14 gave

canc. before the21 w^{che} *interl.*29 and *interl.*

31 as it

byfore/ *canc. before* as34 be *canc. before* be; be *interl.*

the Imagynacions & travelous busynes to avoyd suche darke & straynge prophecyes hathe byn the very occasion to bryng the same the soner to effect & perfeccion/ therfore lett men beware to devyn or assure them selves to expound any suche prophecyes/ ffor who so doyth/ shal first dissayve them selves/ And secondly 5 bryng many in to errour/ thexperience hathe byn lately experyenced (the more pitie) But if men woll nedes thynke them selves so wyse to be assured of suche blynd prophecyes/ And wyll worke ther wyllles therin/ owther in avoydyng or in ffylfylling the same/ god send hyme well to sped/ for he may as well 10 and myche more soner take dammage/ than to avoyd the daynger therof/ lett prophecyes alone a goddes name/ Applie yo^r vocacion And commytt thexposicion of suche darke riddelless And obscure prophecyes to god that disposyth theme as his devyn plesure shall see cause/ to allter & chaynge all yo^r enterprises & Imagynacions 15 to nothyng & disceyve all yo^r expectacions and cause you to repent yo^r great folly/ the w^{che} whan ye feale the smert wyll yo^r self confesse the same/ to be bothe great folly & myche more madnes/ to trust in any suche ffantazes/ lett god therfore dispose theme/ who gwerdenythe and punysshethe/ accordyng to mens 20 desertes & not to all mens Iugementes/// [f. 65^v]

You have hard here byfore what wordes the Duke of Norffolk had to m^r Cromwell towchyng my lordes goyng in to the northe to his benyfice of yorke/ at suche tyme as m^r Cromwell declared the same to my lord/ to whome my lord answered in thys wyse/ 25 Marie 'Thomas/ q^d he/ than it is tyme to be goyng if my lord of Norffolk take it so/ 'Therfore I pray you goo to the kyng and move his highnes in my behalf and sey that I wold w^t all my hart goo to my benefice in yorke but for want of mony/ desyryng his grace to assist me w^t some mony towardses my 30 Journey ffor ye may sey that the last monye that I receyved of his ma^{tie} hathe byn to littyll to pay my debtes/ compelled by his Councell so to do/ therfore to constrayne me to the payment therof/ & his highenes hauyng all my goodes hathe byn to

1 the <i>canc.</i> before suche	4 sef <i>canc.</i> before selves	5 be <i>canc.</i>
after shal; be dissayved <i>canc.</i> after first	7 wolbe <i>canc.</i> before woll	
11 and <i>interl.</i> ; da <i>canc.</i> before take	14 to god <i>interl.</i>	16 all <i>interl.</i>
19 to <i>canc.</i> before in	20 to me <i>canc.</i> before accordyng	27 you
<i>interl.</i>	32 to pay <i>canc.</i> before to pay	33 compell <i>canc.</i> before

constrayne

myche extremyte/ wherin I trust hys grace wyll haue a charitable
 respecte/ ye may sey also to my lord of Norffolk and other of the
 councell that I wold departe if I had mony/ Sir q^d m^r Cromwell
 I wyll do my best and after other Commynycacion he departed
 5 agayn & went to london// My lord than in the begynnyng of
 lent removed owt of the loge in to the Charterhowse of
 Richemond/ where he lay in a lodgyng (w^{che} Doctor Collett
 (sometyme dean of powlles) hade made for hyme self) vntill he
 removed northeward w^{che} was in the passion weke/ after/ And he
 10 had to the same howsse a secrett gallery w^{che} went owt of his
 Chamber in to the Charterhowse chirche/ whether he resortyd
 euery day to ther seruyce/ And at after nones he wold sytt in
 contemplacion w^t oon or other of the most aunycnt ffathers of
 that howsse in his sell/ who among theme & by ther councell
 15 perswadyd frome the vaynglory of thys world/ And gave hyme
 dyuers shirtes of heare the w^{che} he often ware after ward (wherof
 I ame certyn) And thus he perceuered for the tyme of his abode
 there in godly contemplacion/ Nowe whan m^r Cromwell came
 to the Court he chaunced to move my lord of Norffolk that my
 20 lord wold gladly depart northeward but for lake of mony wherin
 he desyred his assistaunce to the kyng/ Then went they bothe
 Ioyntly to the kyng/ to whome My lord of Norffolk declared how
 my lord wold gladly depart northeward if he wanted not mony
 to bryng hyme thether/ The kyng thervppon referred the
 25 assignem^t therof to the Councell/ where vppon they ware in
 dyuers oppynyons/ some sayed he shold haue none for he had
 sufficient but late delyuerd hyme/ Some wold he shold [f. 66]
 haue sufficient & anowghe/ And some contrarywyse wold he
 shold haue but a small Somme/ And some thought it myche
 30 ayenst the Councelles honor/ and myche more ayenst the
 kynges highe dignyte/ to se hyme want the mayntenaunce of
 his estate w^{che} the kyng had geuyn hyme in this Realme and
 also hathe byn in suche estymacon w^t the kyng and in great
 auctorytie/ vnder hyme in this realme/ yt shold be rathe a great

6 lent removed owt] *MS.* lent owt

before ffathers

MS. moved

whome

before auctorytie

17 contynued there *canc.* before perceuered

21 kyng/ Then] *MS.* kyng Then

32 geuyn *canc.* before geuyn; geuyn *interl.*

13 or other *interl.*; fah *canc.*

19 move]

22 to *interl.* before

34 auctory .. *canc.*

slaunders (in forrayn Realmes) to the kyng & his hole councell
to se hym want that latly had so myche/ and now so lytill/
therfore rather than he shold lake (q^d oon among theme) that
rather than he shold lake/ allthoughe he neuer did me good or
any pleasure yet wold I lay my plate to Gagge for hym for a 5
Mⁱ 11 Rather than he shold depart so symply as some wold
haue hym for to do/ lett vs do to hym as we wold be don vnto
consyderyng his small offence and his in estymable Substaunce
that he oonly hathe departyd w^t all for the same oonly for
satisfieng of the kynges pleasure Rather then he wold stand in 10
defence w^t the kyng in defendyng of hys case/ As he myght Iustly
haue don as all ye knowe/ lett not malice cloke thys matter
wherby that pitie & mercy may take no place/ ye haue all yo^r
pleasures fulfillyd w^{che} ye haue long desired/ And now suffer
concyence to mynester vnto hym some liberalitie/ the day may 15
come that some of vs may be in the same case/ ye haue suche
alteracions in persons as well assured as ye suppose yo^r selves to
be and to stand vppon as suer a ground/ And what hangythe
ouer our heddes we knowe not/ I can say no more now do as ye
lyst/ 'Than after all this they began agayn to consult in this 20
matter/ And after long debatyng and reasonyng about the
same/ yt was concludyd that he shold haue by the way of prest
a Mⁱ marces/ owt of wynchester bysshopriche byfore hand of
his pencion w^{che} the kyng had graunted hym owt of the same/
for the kyng had resumed the hole revenues of the bysshopriche/ 25
of wynchester in to his owen handes/ yet the kyng owt of the
same had grauntyd dyuers great pencions vnto dyuers noble
men & vnto other [f. 66^v] of his Councell So that I do suppose/
all thynges Accompted hys part was the lest So that whan thys
determinacion was fully concludyd they declared the same to 30
the kyng/ who strait wayes commaunded that Mⁱ marces to be
delyuerd owt of hand to m^r Cromewell and so it was/ The kyng
callyng m^r Cromewell to hym secretly/ bad hym to resort to
hym agayn whan he had receyved the seyd Somme of mony/
And accordyng to the same commaundement/ he repayed agayn 35
to the kyng/ to whome the kyng sayd shewe my lord yo^r m^r

8 the *canc.* after consyderyng; his *interl.* before small 16 case/ ye]
MS. case ye 19 h *canc.* before our 25 by *canc.* before revenues
31 wayes commaunded that] MS. wayes that; *superscript* 11 *canc.* before marces

allthoughē our Councell hathe not assigned any sufficient
 Somme of mony to beare hys charges/ yet ye shall shewe hyme
 in my behalf that I woll send hyme a M^t ¹¹ of my benyvolence/
 And tell hyme that he shall not lake/ And byd hyme to be of good
 5 chere/ M^r Cromewell vppon his knee most humbly thanked the
 kyng (on my lordes behalf) for his great benyvolence & noble
 hart towards my lord/ whos comfortable wordes/ q^d he/ of yo^r
 grace/ shall reioyse hyme more than iij^{re} tymes the valewe of
 yo^r noble reward/ And therw^t departed frome the kyng and
 10 came to my lord directly to richemond/ 'T'o whome he delyuerd
 the mony and shewed hyme all the argumēt in the councell
 w^{che} ye haue hard byfore w^t the progresse of the same/ & of
 what mony it was & wherof it was levyed w^{che} the Councell sent
 hyme And of the mony w^{che} the kyng sent hyme And of his
 15 comfortable wordes/ wherof my lord reioysed not a littill &
 greatly comforted/ And after the receypt of this mony my lord
 consultancyd w^t m^r Cromwell abought his departure & of his
 Iourney w^t the order therof//

Than my lord prepared all thynges w^t spede for his Iourney
 20 in to the northe/ Sent to london for lyuere clothes for his
 seruauntes that shold ride w^t hyme thether/ Some he refused
 suche as he thought ware not mete to serue/ And some agayn of
 ther owen mynd desired hyme of his fauour to tary still here in
 the Sowthe/ beyng very lothe to enbandon ther natife contrie/
 25 ther parentes/ wyfes & childerne/ wherw^t he most gladly
 licenced w^t his good wyll & fauour And rendered vnto theme his
 hartie thanks for ther paynfull seruyce & long tariaunce w^t
 hyme in his troublesome deokay & ouerthrowe/ So that nowe/
 [f. 67] all thynges beyng ffurnyssed towards this Iourney
 30 w^{che} he toke in the begynnyng/ of the passion weke/ byfore Ester/
 And so rode to a place than the Abbottes of westminster called
 hendon/ And the next day he removed to a place called the Rye
 where my lady Parre lay/ the next day he roode to Royston and
 lodged in the monastory there/ And the next he removed to

8 than] *MS.* than than 9 yo^r *interl.*

14 the *canc.* before his; his *interl.*

before m^r

before thether

canc. before in

20 northe/ Sent] *MS.* northe Sent

24 lothe *canc.* before lothe

13 levyed/ *canc.* before &

17 the *canc.*

21 in to the *canc.*

30 w^{che} *interl.*; the same

huntyngdon/ And there lodged in the Abbey/ And frome thence
 he removed to Peterboroughe And there lodged also wⁱⁿ the
 Abbey beyng than Palmesonday where he made hys abode
 vntyll the thursday in Ester weke/ w^{all} his trayn/ wherof the
 most part went to bord wages in the town havynge xijth Cartes 5
 to carry his stuffe of his owen w^{che} came frome his collage in
 Oxford where he had lx^{ore} Cartes to Cary suche necessaryes as
 belonged to his byldynges there// Vppon Palmesonday he went
 in procession/ w^t the monkes beryng his Palme/ setting forthe
 godes seruyce right honorably w^t such syngyng men as he than 10
 had remaynyng w^t hymne/ And vppon maundy Thursday he
 made his maundy in our ladys Chappell/ hauyng lix^{ti} poomen
 whos feet he than wasshed wyped & kyssed/ eche of thes poore
 men had xij^d in mony iij elles of Canvas to make theme shirtes/
 a payer of newe shoes/ A Cast of Brede/ iij^{re} red herynges/ and 15
 iij^{re} whight herynges and the ode person had ijs/ Vppon Esterday
 in the mornynge he rode to the resurreccion/ And that day he
 went in procession in his vesture Cardynall w^t his hatt & hode
 vppon his hed/ And he hymeself sang there the highe masse
 very devoutly/ And graunted cleane remysion to all the herers 20
 and there contynued there all the holledayes//

My lord contynuyng/ at Peterboroughe after this maner
 entending to remove frome thence sent me to sir willam
 ffitzwillam a knyght w^{che} dwelt w^t in iij^{re} or iiij^{or} mylles of
 Peterboroughe to provyde hymne there a lodgyng vntill monday 25
 next folowyng on his Iourney northeward/ And beyng w^t hymne/
 to whome I declared my lordes request/ and he beyng therof
 very glad/ reioysed not a littill that it wold please my lord to vysit
 his howsse in his waye/ sayeng [f. 67^v] that he shold be (the
 kyng ma^{tie} excepted) most hartilest welcome to hymne of any 30
 man a lyve/ And that he shold not nede to discharge the cariage
 of any of hys stuffe for his owen vse duryng the tyme of his
 beyng there but haue all thynges furnysshed redy ayenst hys
 commyng/ to occupie (his owen bedd excepted) Thus vppon my

1 Royston *canc. before* huntyngdon

2 Peterbury *with first r interl.*

canc. after to

4 Ester the thursday *with the thursday interl. canc.*

after vntyll

6 his collage in *interl.*

9 bey *canc. before* beryng

13 wyped *interl.*

18 had *canc. before* hatt

21 allowdays *canc.*

before holledayes

23 rev *canc. before* remove; thence *interl.*

29 be

interl.

30 ma^{tie} *interl.*

report made to my lord at my retorne/ he reioysed of my
 messwage/ comaundyng me therw^t to geve warnyng to all his
 officers & seruauntes to prepare them selves to remove frome
 Peterboroughe vppon 'Thursday next/ than euery man made all
 5 thynges in suche redynes as was convenyent payeng in the town
 for all thynges as they had taken of any person for ther owen
 vse/ ffor w^{che} cause my lord caused a proclamacion to be made
 in the town/ that if any person or persons in the town or contrie
 there ware offendyd or greved ayenst any of my lordes
 10 seruauntes/ that they shold resort to my lordes officers of
 whome they shold haue redresse/ and truly answered/ as the
 case Iustly requered/ So that all thynges beyng ffurnysshed my
 lord toke his Iourney frome Peterboroughe vppon the Thursday
 in Ester weke/ to M^r ffitzwillam where he was Ioyously receyved
 15 and had right worthy & honorable entertaynme^t at the oonly
 charges & expences of the seyd M^r ffitzwillam/ all his tyme
 beyng there/ 'The occasion that moved m^r ffitzw^m thus to reioyse
 of my lordes beyng in his howsse/ was that he some tyme beyng
 a merchaunt of london and shereve there fill in debate w^t the
 20 Citie of london vppon a Grudge bytween the Aldermen of the
 benche and hyme vppon a newe corporacion that he wold
 erected there of a newe mystery called merchaunt tayllours con-
 trarye to the oppynyon of dyuers of the benche of aldermen/ of
 the Citie of london/ w^{che} caused hyme to geve & surrender his
 25 Clooke/ and departed frome london & inhabyted w^t in the
 Countrie/ And ayenst the malice of all the seyd aldermen and
 other rewlars in the Comen wele/ of the Citie/ my lord defendyd
 hyme/ and reteyned hyme in to seruyce/ whome he made first
 his Treasurer of his howsse/ & than after his highe Chamberlayn/
 30 And in conclusion (for his wysdome/ gravitye/ port/ and
 eloquens/ beyng a gentelman of a comly stature)/ made hyme
 oon of the kynges Councell/ and so contynued all his lyfe after
 ward/ 'Therfor in [f. 68] consideracion of all thes gratitudes
 receyved at my lordes handes as well in his trobyll as in his

2 me *interl.*3 hyme *canc. before* them; them *interl.*

5 suche

canc. before suche7 procla *canc. before* proclamacion

8-9 in the

town or contrie there *interl.*9 ayenst] *MS.* aynst

14 was

*interl.*15 right *interl.*17 of hi *canc. before* beyng

22 of a

newe mystery *interl.*27 Comen] *MS.* Coen

34 mynestred

by *canc. before* receyved; receyved at *interl.*

preferment/ was most gladest (lyke a faythfull frend of good remembraunce) to requyt hyme w^t semblable gratuytie and right Ioyous/ that he had any occasion to mynyster some pleasure suche as lay than in his power to do/ 'Thus my lord contynued there vntill the monday next/ where lacked no good 5 chere of costly vyandes bothe of wyn and other goodly enter-
tayneme^t/ So that vppon the seyde monday my lord departed frome thence vnto Stampford where he lay all that nyght/ and the next day he removed frome thence vnto Grantham and was lodged in a gentilmans howsse called/ m^r hall/ and the next day 10 he rode to Newarke/ & lodged in the Castell all that nyght/ The next day he roode to Southewell a place of my lordes w^t in iij^{re} or iiij^{or} myles of Newarke/ where he entyndyd to contynewe all that Somer/ as he dyd after// here I must declare to you a notable tale of commynycacion/ (w^{che} was don at m^r ffitzwm^m 15 byfore his departyng frome thence) bytween hyme & me/ the w^{che} was this/ **Sir my lord** beyng in the Garden at m^r ffitzwm^m walkyng and sayeng of his evynsong w^t hys Chapleyn/ I beyng there gevyng attendaunce vppon hyme/ his Evynsong fynessed commaundyng his Chapleyn that bare vppe the trayn of his 20 gown wyllst he walked/ to delyuer me the same and he to goo aside whan he had don/ And after hys chapleyn was goon a good distaunce owt of any heryng/ he sayd vnto me/ in this wyse/ ye have q^d he/ byn late at london/ fforsothe my lord/ q^d I/ not late/ sence that I was there to bye yo^r lyueres for yo^r seruantes/ And 25 what newes q^d he/ was there than hard ye no commynycacion ther of me/ I pray you tell me/ Than perceyvyng that I had a good occasion to talke my mynd playnly vnto hyme/ sayd/ Sir if it please yo^r grace/ it was my chaunce to be at a Dynner in a certyn place w^t in the Citie/ where I among dyuers other honest 30 & worshipfull gentillmen/ happed to sitt [f. 68v] w^{che} ware for the most part of my old famylier acquayntaunce/ wherfore they ware the more bolder to enter in commynycacion w^t

1 lyke a] MS. lyke/ a 2 to requyt *canc. before* to; ti *canc. before first*
t of gratuytie 6 bothe *canc. before* of costly 6-7 enterstayneme^t/ So] MS. enterstayneme^t So 7 he *canc. before* my; my lord *interl.*
10 lodged in *interl.* 21 tall *canc. before* walked; to delyuere *canc. before* to delyuer and his *before* the; the same *interl.*; trayn *canc. before* and 24 very *canc. after* not 25 not *canc. before* sence; f *canc. before* for 30 in *interl.*
31 happed to Suppe *canc. before* happed

me/ vnderstandyng that I was still yo^r graces seruaunt/ Axid me
 a questyon w^{che} I cowld not well assoyll theme/ what was that/
 q^d my lord/ fforsothe sir/ q^d I/ ffirst they axid me howe ye dyd
 And howe ye accepted yo^r aduersitie & troble & the losse of yo^r
 5 goodes/ to the w^{che} I answered that ye ware in helthe (thankes
 be to god) And toke all thyng in good part/ And sir it semed me
 that they ware all yo^r Indifferent frendes lamentyng yo^r decay
 & losse of yo^r Rome & goodes/ doughtyng myche that the
 sequell therof cowld not be good in the Comen welthe/ ffor
 10 often chayngeng of suche officers w^{che} be ffate fed in to the
 handes of suche as be lean and hongerd for riches woll suer
 travell by all means to gett aboundaunce & so the poore Comens
 be pillyd & extorted for greedy lucre of Riches & treasure/ they
 sayd that ye ware full fed and entendyd nowe myche to the
 15 auauunceme^t of the kynges honor & the comen welthe/ Also they
 marvelled myche that ye beyng of so excellent a wytt and highe
 discession wold so symply confesse yo^r self gyltie in the
 premunyre/ wherin/ ye myght full well haue stand in the triall of
 yo^r case/ ffor they vnderstod by the report of some of the kynges
 20 Councell learned that in yo^r case (well considered)/ ye had great
 wrong/ to the w^{che} I cowld make (as me thought) no sufficient
 Answer but sayd that I dought not but that yo^r so doyng was
 vppon some greater consideracion than my wytt cowld vnder-
 stand/ ys this/ q^d he/ the oppynyon of wyse men/ yea forsothe
 25 my lord/ q^d I/ and allmost of all other men// Well then/ q^d he/
 I se that ther wysdomes perceyve not the ground of the matter
 that moved me so to do ffor I considered that my ennemyes had
 brought the matter so to passe ayenst me/ and conveyed it so
 that they made it the kynges case/ and caused the kyng to take
 30 the matter in to his owen handes & quarell/ And after that he
 had vppon occasion therof seased all my goodes & possession in

2 well *interl.*3 ye dyd *canc.* after howe9 can *canc.* beforecowld; cowld *interl.*; Comen] *MS.* Coen10 chayngeng *interl.*; chayngeof *canc.* before of11 and hongerd *interl.*; an *interl.* and *canc.* after and;of *canc.* before for14 to *canc.* before myche15 comen] *MS.*

coen

18 styfe *canc.* before in and the before the; the *interl.*20 that *canc.* before ye21 cowld *canc.* before cowld

22 so

*interl.*23 consideracion] *MS.* consideracion; I *canc.* before my25 of *canc.* before almost26 th . . than *interl.* and *canc.* before I; I sethat *interl.*; that *canc.* before of27 enneis *canc.* before ennemyes28 that *canc.* before and; and *interl.*; they *interl.* and *canc.* before conveyed

to his demayns/ And than the quarell to be his/ he wold rather
 than yeld or take a foyell in the lawe/ and therby restore [f. 69]
 to me all my goodes agan/ wold soner (by the procureme^t of my
 ennemyes and evyll wyllers) Imagyn my vtter vndoyng &
 distruccion/ Wherof the most ease therin had byn for me 5
 perpetuall Imprisonme^t/ And rather then I wold Ieopard so
 ferre/ or put my lyfe in any suche hasard/ yet had I most levest
 to yeld & confesse the matter commyttyng the hole some therof
 as I did vnto the kynges Clemency & mercy and lyve at large
 lyke a poore vykare/ than to lye in prison w^t all the goodes & 10
 honour that I hade/ And therfore it was most best way for me
 (all thynges consideryd) to do as I haue don/ than to stand in
 triall w^t the kyng ffor he wold haue byn lothe to haue byn noted
 a wrong doer/ And in my submyssion the kyng (I dought not)
 had a great remorse of concyence/ wherin he wold rather pitie me 15
 than malygne me/ And also there was a contynuall serpentyn
 ennemye abought the kyng that wolld I ame well assured if I had
 byn found styfe necked/ called contynually vppon the kyng in his
 eare (I mean the nyght Crowe)//// w^t suche a vehemencye/ that
 I shold (w^t the helpe of hir assistaunce) have opteyned soner the 20
 kynges indignacion/ than his lawfull fauour and his ffauor oons
 lost (w^{che} I trust at this present I haue) wold neuer haue byn by
 me recouered/ therfore I thought it better for me to kepe still
 his lovyng fauour/ w^t losse of my goodes & dignytyes than to
 wynne my goodes & substaunce w^t the losse of hys love & 25
 pryncely fauour/ w^{che} is but oonly deathe// Quia indignacio prin-
 cipis mors est/ And thys was the specyall ground and cause that
 I yelded my self gyltie in the premunire/ w^{che} I perceyve all
 men knewe not/ wherin sence/ I vnderstand the kyng hathe
 conceyved a certyn pryke of concyence/ who toke secretly to 30
 hyme self the matter more grevous in his secrett stomake than all
 men knewe/ for he knewe wether I did offend hyme ther in so

1 beyng *canc.* after And 5 therin *and* for me *interl.*; had *canc.*
 before had 7 moste leues *canc.* before most; most levest *interl.*
 8 matter *canc.* after hole; some therof *interl.* 10 than *canc.* before
 lyke; to *interl.* 11 hade *canc.* before hade 12 to *interl.* before
 stand 16 was *interl.*; serpenteyn *canc.* before serpentyn; serpentyn
interl. 20 assistaunce) have opteyned] *MS.* assistaunce opteyned
 25-26 pri *written over & and canc.* before pryncely; pryncely] *MS.* prynly
 26-27 princy *canc.* before principis 29 & *canc.* after kyng 30 secretly
interl.

grevously (as it was made) or no/ 'To whos concyence I do
 commytt my cause/ trowthe/ & equitye// And thus we left the
 substaunce of all this commynycacion/ allthoughe we had myche
 more talke/ yet is this sufficient to cause you to vnderstand as
 5 well the cause of his confession in his offence/ as also the cause
 of the losse of all his goodes & treasure/// [f. 69^v]

Nowe lett vs/ retorne were we left/ My lord beyng in the
 Castell of Newarke/ entending to ride to Southwell w^{che} was
 iiij^{or} myles frome thence/ toke nowe his Iourney thetherward
 10 ayenst Supper/ where he was fayn for lake of reparacion of the
 bysshopes place/ w^{che} appurteyned to the see of yorke/ to be
 lodgyd in a prebendaries howsse ayenst the seyde place/ And
 there kepte howsse vntill wytson tyd next ayenst w^{che} tyme he
 removed in to the place newly amcndyd & repayred/ And there
 15 contynued the most part of the Somer/ Sewerly not w^{out} great
 resort of the most worshipfullest gentilmen of the Contrie/ And
 dyuers other/ of whome they ware most gladly entertayned &
 had of hyme the best chere he could devyse for theme whos
 gentill & famylier behauour w^t theme caused hyme to be greatly
 20 beloved & esteemed/ thoroughe the hole contrie there aboutes/
 he kept an noble howsse and plentie bothe of meate & drynke/
 for all commers bothe for riche & Poore/ And myche almes gevyn
 at his gate/ he vsed myche charite & pite/ among his poore
 tenauntes & other/ allthoughe the fame therof was no pleasaunt
 25 sownd in the eares of his ennemyes and of suche as bare hyme no
 good wyll/ howbeit the Comen people woll report as they fynd
 cause/ ffor he was myche more famylier among all persons than
 he was accustomed/ And most gladdest whan he had an occasion
 to do them good/ he made many agrementes and concordres
 30 betwen gentillman & gentillman/ And bytween some gentillmen
 & ther wyfes that had byn long a Sonder and in great troble/ and
 dyuers other agrementes bytween other persons/ makynge great
 assembles for the same purpose and feastyng of them not
 sparyng for any costes where he myght make a peace/ and
 35 amytie/ w^{che} purchased hyme myche love & frendshipe in the

5 all *canc.* after well
 before to be

10 of *interl.* after lake
 21 noble *canc.* before noble; of *canc.* before bothe
 26 wyll/ howbeit] *MS.* wyll howbeit; Comen] *MS.* Coen

11 wa *canc.*
 33 t *canc.*
 before not

Contrie// yt chaunced that vpon Corpus xpi Eve after supper
 he commaundyd me to prepare all thyng for hyme in a redynes/
 ayenst the next day/ for he entendyd to syng highe masse in the
 mynster/ that day And I not forgettyng his commaundeme^t/
 gave lyke warnyng to all his officers of hys howsse & other of my 5
 ffellowes/ to forse that all thynges appurteynyng to ther romes
 were fully furnysshed to my lordes honor/ [f. 70] This don I went
 to my bed/ where I was skantly a slepe & warme but that oon of
 the porters came to my chamber doore/ callyng vpon me/ and
 sayd there was ij gentillmen/ at the gat that wold gladly speke 10
 w^t my lord frome the kyng/ w^t that I arose vppe and went
 incontynent vnto the gate w^t the porter/ demaundyng what they
 ware that so ffayn wold come In/ they seyde vnto me that ther was
 m^r Breerton/ oon of the gentilmen of the kynges pryve chamber/
 And m^r Wrothesley w^{che} ware come frome the kyng empost/ to 15
 speke w^t my lord/ than hauyng vnderstandyng what they ware
 caused the Porter to lett them In/ And after ther entre they
 desired me to speke w^t my lord w^{out} delay for they myght not
 tary/ at whos request I repayred to my lordes chamber & waked
 hyme that was a slepe/ but whan he hard me speke/ he de- 20
 maundyde of me what I wold haue/ Sir q^d I/ ther be bynethe in
 the porters loge m^r Breerton gentilman of the kynges pryve
 Chamber/ and m^r writhesley come frome the kyng to speke w^t
 you/ they wyll not tary therfore they beseche yo^r grace to speke
 w^t you owte of hand/ well than q^d my lord byd them come vppe 25
 in to my dynyng chamber/ and I wyll prepare my self to come
 to theme/ than I resorted to them agayn/ And shewed them that
 my lord desired them to come vppe vnto hyme & he woll talke
 w^t theme w^t a right good wyll/ they thanked me & went w^t me
 vnto my lord and assone as they perceyved hyme beyng in his 30
 nyght apparell dyd to hyme humble reuerence/ whome my lord
 toke by the handes demaundyng of theme howe the kyng his
 souerayn lord did/ sir seyde they/ right well in helthe & mery/

1 yet it *canc. before yt* 6 ap *canc. before* appurteynynge 8 had
canc. before was; was *interl.*; in *canc. before* but 10 wold *canc. after*
gat 11 vppe *canc. before* vppe 13 ffayn wold come] *MS.*
ffayn come 16 lord/ than] *MS.* lord than; vnderst *canc. after* hauynge
19 at *interl.* 21 q^d I] I *written over* h 24 you/ they] *MS.* you
they 25 yo *canc. before* w^t; hand/ well] *MS.* hand well 28 them
interl.; he *interl.* 32 ther *canc. before* his

- (thankes be vnto our lord)// Sir q^d they/ we must desier you to
 talke w^t you a part/ w^t a right good wyll/ q^d my lord/ who drewe
 them a side in to a great wyndowe/ and there talked w^t theme
 secretly/ and after long talke they toke owt of a male/ a certyn
 5 Coffer couered w^t grean veluett/ and bound w^t barres of siluer
 & gylt/ w^t a looke of the same/ hauyng a key w^{che} was gylt w^t the
 w^{che} they opened the same chest/ owt of the w^{che} they toke a
 certyn Instrum^t or writyng conteynyng more then oon skyn of
 parchment/ [f. 70^v] hauyng many great Seales hangyng at yt/
 10 where vnto they put more waxe for my lordes Seale/ the w^{che}
 my lord Sealed w^t his owen seale & subscribed his name to the
 same/ And that don they wold nedes departe/ And for as myche
 as it was after mydnyght/ my lord desired them to tarye & take a
 bed/ they thanked hym/ And seyde they myght in no wyse tary
 15 for they wold w^t all spede to the Erle of Shrewesburys directly
 w^tout lett by cause they wold be there or euer he stered in the
 mornyng/ And my lord perceyvyng ther hasty spede/ caused
 them to eate suche cold meate as ther was in store wⁱⁿ the
 howsse and to drynke a coppe or ij of wyne/ And that don he
 20 gaue eche of theme iiij^{or} old Souerayns of gold desiryng them
 to take it in gree sayeng that if he had byn of greater abyllitie/
 ther reward shold haue byn better/ And so takyng ther leave/
 they departyd/ and after they ware departed/ as I hard sey they
 ware not contentid w^t ther reward/ In deade they ware not none
 25 of his indifferent ffrendes w^{che} caused them to accept it so
 disdaynously howbeit if they knewe what littill stoore of mony
 he had at that present they wold I ame suere (beyng but his
 Indyfferent frendes) they wold haue gevyn hym harty thankes/
 But no thyng is more lost or cast a way/ than is suche thynges
 30 w^{che} is gevyn to suche Ingrate persons/ My lord went agayn to
 bed And yet all his watche & disturbaunce that he had that
 nyght notw^tstandyng/ he song hyghemasse the next day as he
 appoynted byfore/ There was none in all his howsse that knewe
 of the commyng or goyng of thes ij gentilmen and yet there lay
 35 w^t in the seyde howsse many worshipfull strayngers//

After thys sort/ and maner my lord contynued at Southewell

2 talke *canc. before* talke

4 make *canc. before* male

15 my

lord *canc. before* the

18 them *interl.*

31 that he had that

interl.

32 nyght *interl.*

33 of *canc. before* in; in *interl.*

vntill the latter end of Grease tyme/ at w^{che} tyme he entendyd to
 remove to Scrobye/ w^{che} was an other howsse/ of the bysshop-
 riche of yorke/ and ayenst the day of his removyng he caused all
 his officers to prepare as well for provysion to be made for hyme
 there as also for cariage of his stuffe and other matters con- 5
 cernyng his estate/ his removyng and entent was not so secrett/
 but that it was [f. 71] knowen/ abrode in Contrie/ w^{che} was
 lamentable to all his neyghbors/ abought Southwell/ and as it
 was lamentable vnto them/ so was yt as myche Ioy to his neygh-
 bors abought Scrobye/ Ayenst the day of his removyng dyuers 10
 knyghtes & other gentilmen of worshype in the Contrie/ came
 to hyme to Sowthewell entendyng to accompany & attend vppon
 hyme in that Iourney the next day And to conducte hyme
 thoroughe the fforest vnto Scrobye/ but he beyng of ther
 purpose aduertised howe they did entend to haue lodged a 15
 great stagg or tweyn for hyme by the waye/ purposly to shewe
 hyme all pleasure & disporte they cowlde devyse and havynge
 (as I seyde) therof Intelligence was very lothe to receyve any
 suche honor & disport at ther handes not knowyng howe the
 kyng wold take it and beyng well assured that his ennemyes 20
 wold reioyse myche to vnderstand that he wold take vppon
 hyme any suche presumpcyon/ wherby they myght fynde an
 occasion to enforme the kyng howe sonpmtuous & pleasaunt he
 was notw^tstandyng his aduersite and ouerthrowe/ And so to
 bryng the kyng in to a wrong oppynyon of small hope/ in hyme 25
 of reconsilme^t/ but rather that he sowght a mean to opteyn the
 fauour of the Contrie/ to w^tstand the kynges procedynges w^t
 dyuers suche Imagynacions wherin he myght soner catche
 displeasure than fauour & honour/ And also he was lothe to
 make the worshipfull gentilmen pryve to this his Imaginacion 30
 lest paraurenture that they shold conceyve some toye or fantzy
 in ther hedes by means therof and so to eschewe ther accustomed
 accesse and absent theme selves frome hyme/ w^{che} shold be as
 myche to hys greve/ as the other was to his comfort/ therefore he

3 rem <i>canc.</i> before removyng	7 knowen <i>canc.</i> after it was	9 yt
<i>canc.</i> before yt	11 & <i>canc.</i> before knyghtes	16 or tweyn <i>interl.</i>
17 hyme <i>canc.</i> before and	21 a single indecipherable letter <i>canc.</i> before	
take	24 by <i>canc.</i> after to	26 wold wold with first w written over
b <i>canc.</i> after he	30 priyy <i>canc.</i> before pryve	34 ther <i>canc.</i>
before his		

devysed this meane way/ (as hereafter folowyth) w^{che} shold
 rather be taken for a laughyng disport than other wyse/ ffirst
 he called me vnto hyme secretly at nyght goyng to his rest/ And
 commaundyd me in any wyse most secretly that nyght to cause
 5 .vijth or .vij^{en} horsse besides his mewle for his owen person to
 be made redy by the breke of the day for hyme/ and for suche
 persons as he appoynted to ride w^t hyme to an Abbey called
 welbeke/ where he entendyd to logge by the way to Scrobye/
 wyllynge me to be also in a redynes/ [f. 71v] to ride w^t hyme/
 10 And to call hyme so early that he myght be on horssebacke after
 he had hard masse by the brekyng of day/ Sir/ what wyll you
 more/ All thynges beyng accomplissed accordyng to his
 commaundemet And the same fynysshed & don/ he w^t a small
 number byfore appoynted mounted vppon his mewle setting
 15 forthe by the brekyng of the day towards welbeke w^{che} is
 about xvij^{en} mylles frome thence/ whether my lord & we came
 byfore vijth of the cloke in the mornynge and he went strait to his
 bed levyng all the gentilmen strayngers in ther beddes at
 Sowthewell no thyng privye of my lordes secrett departure/ who
 20 expectyd his vppe risynge vntill it was viijth of the Clocke/ but
 after it was knowen to theme/ and to all the rest there remaynyng
 behynd hyme/ than euery man went to horsbake/ gallopeng after
 supposyng to ouertake hyme/ but he was at his rest in welbeke
 or euer they roose owt of ther beddes in Sowthewell/ And so
 25 ther cheafe huntynge and Coursynge of the great Stagge was
 disapoynted & dassht/ but at ther thether resort to my lord
 syttyng at dynner the matter was gested & laughed owte/
 merylye/ and all the matter well taken/ My lord the next day
 removed frome thence/ to whome resortyd dyuers gentillmen of
 30 my lord therle of Shrewsburys seruantes to desier my lord in
 ther m^{rs} name to hunt in a parke/ of therles called worsoppe
 parke/ the w^{che} was w^t in a myle of welbeke/ and the very best
 & next waye for my lord to travell thorowghe on his Iourney
 where myche plenty of game was layed in a redynes to shewe

1 w^{che} *canc. before* (as2 be *interl.*; f *canc. before* a

3 bed

canc. before rest9 to be in a *canc. before* to ride

13 small

canc. before small17 he *interl.*18 1 *canc. before*

levying

32 w^{che} was w^t]*before* veryMS. w^{che} w^t; two indecipherable letters *canc.*

hyme pleasure/ howbeit he thanked my lord ther m^r for his
gentilnes and theme for ther paynnes/ sayeng that he was no
meate man for any suche pastyme/ beyng a man other wyse
disposed/ suche pastyme & pleasure ware meate for suche noble
men as delight therin/ Neuerthelesse/ he cowlde do no lesse than 5
to accompte my lord of Shrewsbury to be myche his frend in
whome he found suche gentilnes & noblenes in his honorable
offer/ to whome he rendered his most lowly thanks/ but in no
wyse they cowlde entreat hym to hunt allthoughe the worshipfull
gentilmen beyng in his company provoked him all that they 10
cowlde do therto/ yet he wold not consent desyryng theme to be
contented/ sayeng that he came not in to the Contrye [f. 72] to
frequent or folowe any suche pleasures or pastymes/ but oonly
to attend to a greater Care that he had in hand w^{ch} was his
dewtie, study & pleasure And w^t suche reasons & perswasions he 15
pacified them for that tyme/ howbeit yet as he rode thoroughe
the parke bothe my lord of Shrewsburys seruantes And also
the foreseyd gentilmen moved hym/ oons agayn byfore whome
the dere lay very fayer for all pleasaunt/ huntyng and Coursyng/
but it wold not be/ but made as myche sped to ride thorowghe 20
the parke/ as he cowlde/ And at the issue owte of the parke/ he
callyd therles gentilmen & the keepers vnto hym/ desyryng
theme to haue hym commendyd to my lord ther m^r/ thankyng
hyme for hys most honorable offer & good wyll/ trustyng
shortly to visit hym at his owen howsse/ And gave the keepers 25
xl^s for ther payns & diligence/ who conducted hym thoroughe
the parke And so rode to an other abbey called Rofford Abbey/
And after he rode to blythe Abbey/ where he lay all nyght/ And
the next day to Scrobye where he contynued vntill after
Michelmas mynstryng many deades of charitie/ Most Comenly 30
euery Sonday (if the whether did serue) he wold travell vnto
some paryshe chirche/ there abought and there wold say hys
devyn seruyce And other here or say masse hym self/ causyng
some oon of hys Chaplyns to preche vnto the people/ And that
don he wold dynne/ in some honest howsse/ of that town/ where 35

1 & *canc. before* for 3 of *canc. before* other 4 yt is *canc. before*
suche pastyme 11 h *canc. before* theme 16 as] *M.S.* as as; rose *canc.*
before rode 17 al *canc. after* seruantes 23 the *canc. before*
hyme 24 hys *canc. before* hys 29 Skroerby *canc. before* Scrobye

shold be distributed to the poore a great almes/ as well of mete
 & drynke/ as of monye/ to supplye the want of sufficient
 mete/ if the nombor of the poore did so exced of necessitie/ And
 thus w^t other good deades practasyng & excercisyng duryng his
 5 abode at Scrobye as makyng of love dayes and aggrement^{tes}
 bytween partie & partie/ beyng than at varyaunce/ he/ dayly
 frequentyng hym self abought suche busynes/ & deades of
 honest charitie// [f. 72^v]

Than abought/ the feast of Seynt Michell next ensuyng my
 10 lord toke his Iourney towards Cawood Castell/ the w^{che} is
 wⁱⁿ vij^{en} myles of yorke/ And passyng thether he lay ij nyghtes
 and a day at Seynt Oswaldes Abbeye where he hymself con-
 firmed Childerne in the Chyrche frome viijth of Clocke in the
 mornyng vntyll xj^{en} of the clocke at none/ And makyng a short
 15 dynner resortyd agayn to the chirche at oon of the cloke/ And
 there began agayn to confirme moo childern vntill iiij^{or} of the
 cloke/ where he was at the last constrayned for werynes to sitt
 down in a chayer/ the number of the childerne was suche/ that
 don he sayd his Evynsong and than went to Sopper/ And rested
 20 hym there all that nyght/ And the next mornyng he applied
 hym self to departe towards Cawood and or euer he departed
 he confirmed all most an Cth childerne more And than rode on
 his Iourney/ And by the way ther ware assembled at a stone
 Crosse standyng vppon a greane w^t in a quart^r of a myle of
 25 fferyebrigg abought the number of CCth childerne to confirme/
 where he allighted and never removed hys foote vntill he had
 confirmed theme all/ And than toke his mewle/ agayn and roode
 to Cawood where he lay long after w^t myche honour and love
 of the Contrie/ bothe of the worshipecfull and of the symple/
 30 excercisyng hym self in good deades of charitie/ And kepte
 there an honorable & plentifull howsse/ for all commers/ And
 also bylt & repayred the Castell w^{che} was than greatly decayed
 hauyng a great multitude of artifycers and laborers/ above the
 number of CCCth persons dayly in wages/ And lyeng there he
 35 had Intelligence/ by the gentilmen of the Contrie/ that vsid to

4 excersi *canc.* before excercisyng9 abought *canc.* before the12 hymself *interl.*19 dyn *canc.* before Sopper

22 childerne

more] *MS.* childerne/ more23 stone *interl.*27 meu *canc.*

before mewle

34 wages/ And] *MS.* wages And; he *canc.* before lyeng

repayer vnto hyme/ that there was sprong a great varyaunce &
 deadly hate/ bytween sir Richard Tempest & m^r Bryan hastynges
 than but a squyer w^{che} was after made knyght/ bytween whome
 was lyke to ensue great murder onlesse some good mean myght
 be found to redresse the Inconvenyence that was most lyklyest 5
 to ensue/ my lord beyng therof aduertised laymentyng the case
 made suche means by his wysdome & letters w^t other per-
 swasions that thes ij gentilmen ware content to resort to my
 lord to Cawood/ and there to abyde his order/ hyghe & lowe/
 than was there a day [f. 73] Appoynted of there assembly byfore 10
 my lord/ At w^{che} day they Came/ not w^tout great nomber on
 eche partie/ wherfore ayenst w^{che} day my lord had requyred
 many worshipfull gentilmen to be there present to assist hyme
 w^t ther wysdomes to appease thes ij worthy gentilmen/ beyng
 at deadly foode/ and to se the kynges peace kepte/ com- 15
 maundyng no more of ther nomber to enter in to the Castell w^t
 thes ij gentilmen than vj persons of eche of ther menyall
 seruauntes and all the rest to remayn w^tout in the town or where
 they listed to repayer/ And my lord hyme self issuyng owte of
 the gattes callyng the number of bothe parties byfore hyme 20
 strayntly chargeng them most earnestly to obserue & kepe the
 kynges peace/ in the kynges name/ vppon ther paretles w^tout
 owther braggyng or quarelllyng eyther w^t other and caused
 theme to haue bothe beare and wyne sent theme in to the
 town/ And than retourned agayn in to the Castell beyng abought 25
 ix^{en} of the cloke/ And bycause he wold haue thes gentilmen to
 dyne w^t hyme at his owen table/ thought it good/ in avoydyng of
 further Inconvenyence/ to appease ther rancore byfore/ where
 vppon he called theme in to his Chappell/ And there w^t the
 assystence/ of the other gentilmen he fill in to commynycacion 30
 w^t the matter/ declaryng vnto theme the dayngers & myschefes
 that thoroughe ther wyfulnes & foly ware most lyklyest to
 enswe/ w^t dyuers other good exhortacions/ Notw^tstanding the
 parties layeng And allegyng many thynges for there defence/

2 Tempest *canc. before* Tempest

4 e *canc. before* ensue and a *before*

great 5 Inconvenye *canc. before* Inconvenyence; was *interl*

14 to

pas *canc. before* to; gentilmen *canc. before* gentilmen

20 byfore *canc.*

before byfore

25 ix *canc. after* abought

30 of the . wors the

other *canc. before* of

34 layeng *canc. before* layeng

Sometyme Addeng eche to other stout & dispyghtfull wordes of
 diffyaunce the w^{che} my lord & the other gentilmen had myche a
 do to qualifie/ ther malices was so greate/ howbeit at lengethe/
 w^t long contynuaunce// wyse argum^{tes} & depe perswasions
 5 made by my lord they ware agreed & fynally accordyd abought
 iij^{or} of the cloke at after none/ And so made theme ffrendes/ And
 as it semed they bothe reioysed & ware right well contentyd
 therw^t/ to the great comfort of all the other worshipfull
 gentilmen/ causyng theme to shake handes and to go arme in
 10 Arme to dynner/ And so went to dynner/ thoughe it was very
 late/ to dynne/ yet notw^tstandyng [f. 73^v] they dyned together
 w^t thother gentilmen at my lordes table where they dranke
 lovyngly eche to other w^t countenaunce of great Amytie/ After
 dynner my lord caused them to discharge ther rowtes & assemble
 15 that remayned in the town and to retayn w^t theme no mo
 seruauntes than they ware accustomed most comenly to ride
 w^t/ And that don/ thes gentillmen ffulfillyng his commaundeme^t
 taried at Cawood and lay there all nyght whome my lord
 entertayned in suche sort that they accepted his noble hart in
 20 great worthynes trustyng to haue of hyme a specyall Ioyell in
 ther contrie/ hauyng hyme in great estymacion & fauour/ as it
 appered after ward by ther behauor & dymeanor towards
 hyme//

Yt ys not/ to be/ doughted but that the worshipecfull persons As
 25 doctors and prebendaries of the cloos of yorke/ wold & did
 resort vnto hyme accordyng to ther dewties as vnto ther father
 & patron of ther speryтуall dignyties/ beyng at his first commyng
 in to the contrie/ ther chirche of yorke beyng wⁱⁿ vij^{en} myles/
 wherfore ye shall vnderstand that Doctor hikden Deane of the
 30 chirche of yorke w^t the treasurer and dyuers other hed officers
 of the same repayred to my lord welcommyng hyme most
 Ioyously in to the contrie sayeng that it was to theme no small
 comfort to se hyme among theme as ther cheafe hed w^{che} hathe
 byn so long absent frome theme/ beyng all that while lyke

3 & *canc.* after qualifie; geat *canc.* before greate 4 & *canc.* before / wyse
 and depe before & 5 at *canc.* before they; g *canc.* after accordyd
 7 as *interl.*; contentyd *interl.* 7-8 con contendyd *canc.* before therw^t
 10 was *canc.* before was 16 to ride *canc.* before most 17 fully
canc. before ffulfillyng 19 s *canc.* after noble 20 of *canc.* before a;
 of hyme *interl.* and *canc.* before in 34 absence *canc.* before while

ffatherlesse childerne & comfortles trustyng shortly to se hym
among them/ in his owen chirche/ yt is/ q^d he/ the especyall
cause of all my travell in to this Contrie not oonly to be among
you for a tyme but also to spend my lyfe w^t you as a very father
and a mutuall brother/ Sir than/ q^d they/ ye must vnderstand 5
that the ordenarie Ruelles of our chirche hathe byn of an
auncyent Custume/ wherof allthoughe ye be hed & chefe
gouernor yet be ye not so well acquaynted w^t theme as we be/
therfore we shall vnder the supportacion of yo^r grace/ declare
some part therof to you/ as well of our auncyent Custumes As of 10
the lawse & vsage/ of the same/ Therfore ye shall vnderstand that
where ye do entend to repayer vnto vs/ the old lawe & custume
of our chirche hathe byn that the archebisshope beyng our chefe
hed & pasture as your grace nowe be/ myght ne owght not to
come above the quyer doore nor haue any stalle in the quyer/ 15
vntill [f. 74] he by dewe order ware there stalled/ ffor if ye shold
happen to dye byfore yo^r stallacion ye shold not be buried above
in the quyer but in the body of the same chirche benethe/
therfore we shall (vna voce) requyer yo^r grace/ in the name of
all other our brotherne/ that you wold vouchesalve to do herin 20
as yo^r noble predecessors & honorable fathers hathe don/ And
that ye wyll not infrynge or violate any of our laudable ordy-
naunces & constitucions of our chirche/ to the obseruaunce &
preseruacion wherof we be obliged by vertue of an othe at our
first admyttaunce to se them obserued & fulfilled to the vtter- 25
most of our powers/ w^t dyuers other matters remaynyng of
Record in our treasury howsse/ among other thynges// Thos
recordes/ q^d my lord/ wold I gladly se/ And thos seen & digested/
I shall than shewe you further of my mynd/ And thus of thys
matter they ceassed commynycacion and passed forthe in other 30
matters/ So that my lord assigned theme a day to bryng in ther
recordes/ at w^{che} day they brought w^t them ther reiester boke
of record/ wherin was writtyn ther constitucions and auncyent
Rewles whervnto all the fathers & mynesters of the chirche of
york were most cheafely bound bothe to se it don & performed 35

1 & interl.

5 brother/ Sir] MS. brother Sir

7 be interl.

10 & canc. before As

11 vsed canc. before vsage

12 y canc.

before vs

14 is canc. before be

22 infrynge canc. before infrynge

27 Ac canc. before our

28 my lord/ wold] MS. my/ lord wold

and also to performe & obserue the same them selves/ And whan
 my lord had seen/ rede/ & considered theeffect of ther recerdes
 And debated w^t theme substancyally therin/ he determynd to
 be stalled there in the mynstere the next monday after Alhalou-
 5 day/ Ayenst w^{che} day there was made necessarye preparacion/
 for the furniture therof/ but not in so sumptuous a wyse as his
 predecessors did byfore hyme/ ne yet in suche a sort as the
 comen fame was blowen a brode of hyme/ to his great slaunder/
 and to the reporters myche more dishonestie to forge suche
 10 lyes & blasfemous reportes wherin ther is no thyng more
 ontrewē/ The trowthe wherof I perfectly knowe/ for I was made
 pryvye to the same/ And sent to yorke to forse all thyng to pre-
 pare accordyng for the same/ w^{che} shold haue byn myche more
 meane & basse than all other of his prediccursors hertofore hathe
 15 don/ yt came so to passe that vppon hallhalouday oon of the hed
 officers of the chyrche w^{che} shold (by vertue of his office) haue
 most doynges in this stallacion came to dynne w^t my lord at
 Cawood and sitting at dynner they fill in commynycacion
 [f. 74^v] for the order of his stallacion/ who sayd to my lord that
 20 he owght to goo vppon clothe frome seynt Iames chapell
 (standing w^tout the gattes of the Citie of yorke) vnto the
 mynster the w^{che} shold be distributed among the poore/ My
 lord heryng this made answeere to the same in this wyse/
 Allthoughe/ q^d he/ that our predycursors went vppon clothe
 25 right Somptiously/ we do entend (god willyng) to goo a foote
 frome thence w^tout any suche glory/ in the vamppes of my
 hosyn/ for I take god to be my very Iuge that I presume not to
 goo thether for any tryhumphe or vaynglory/ but oonly to fulfyll
 the obseruaunces & Rewles of the chirche to the w^{che} (as ye say)
 30 I ame bound/ And therfore I shall desier you all to hold you
 contentyd w^t my symplycyte/ And also I commaund all my
 seruauantes to goo as humbly w^tout any other sumptyous apparell
 than they be costumably vsed & that is comly & decent to were/
 ffor I do assure you I do entend to come to yorke vppon Sunday

2 b *canc. after* my 6 furniture] *MS. furtiature* 8 comen]
MS. coen 10 bl *canc. before* & 11 ontrewē/ The] *MS.*
 ontrewē 'The 12-13 d *canc. after* prepare 15 byn *canc. before*
 don 17 stallacion came to] *MS. stallacion to* 21 the Citie of
interl. 26 of *canc. before* of; of *interl.* 27 be *canc. before* be
 33 & that is *interl.*; to where/ *canc. before* comly

at nyght and lodge there in the Deans howsse and vpon
monday to be stalled & there to make a dynner for you of the
cloose and for other worshipfull gentylmen/ that shall chaunce
to come to me at that tyme/ And the next day to dynne w^t the
Mayor and so retorne home agayn to Cawood that nyght/ And 5
thus to fynyshe/ the same wherby I may at all tymes resort to
yorke mynster w^out other scripulosite or offence to any of you/
This day cowlde not be onknowen to all the Contrie but that some
must nedes haue knowlege therof/ wherby that notice was geuyn
vnto the gentillmen of the Contrie/ And they beyng therof as 10
well aduertised as Abbottes/ Priors & other of the day of this
solemnyzacyon/ sent in suche provision of dayntie victualles that
it is allmost Incredyble/ wherfore I omyt to declare vnto you
the certyntie therof/ As of great & fatt beafes/ muttuns/ wyld-
fowle/ and venyson bothe red & falowe and dyuers other dayntie 15
meates suche as the tyme of the yere dyd serue/ sufficyent to
furnyshe a great & somptuous feast/ all w^{che} thynges ware
onknowen to my lord/ for as myche as he beyng preventyd and
disapoynted of his reasonable purposed entent/ by cause he was
arrestyd as ye shall here hereafter/ So that [f. 75] the most part 20
of this provision was sent to yorke/ that same day that he was
arrested and the next day folowyng/ ffor his arrest was kept as
cloose & secrett frome the contrie as it cowlde be/ by cause they
doughted the people w^{che} had hyme in great love & estymacion/
for his accustomed charitie/ & liberalitie vsed daylye among 25
theme w^t famylier gesture & countenaunce/ w^{che} be the very
means to allewer the love & hartes of the people in the northe
parties/ **Or euer I wad** any ferther in this matter I do entend
to declare vnto you what chaunced hyme byfore this his last
trouble at Cawood as a sygne or token geuyn by god what shold 30
folowe of his end or of trouble w^{che} did shortly ensue/ the sequell
wherof was of no man (than present) owther premedytate or
Imagyned/ therfor for as myche as it is a notable thyng to be
considered I wyll (god wyll) declare it as truly as it chaunced

8 Contre <i>canc.</i> before Contrie	13 the <i>canc.</i> after you	14 bukes
<i>canc.</i> after fatt	16 ye <i>canc.</i> after of	20 here hereafter/]
MS. here/ hereafter	24 hyme] MS. hymee	31 or interl.;
shold <i>canc.</i> before did; did <i>interl.</i> ;	At the w ^{che} doying/ <i>canc.</i> before the	
33 Imagyned/ therfor] MS. Imagyned therfor; notable <i>canc.</i> before notable		
34 to <i>canc.</i> before it as		

accordyng to my symple remembraunce/ at the w^{che} I my self
was present//

My lordes accustomed Ennemyes in the Court about the
kyng had nowe my lord in more dowght than they had byfore
5 hys fall/ consideryng the contynuall fauour that the kyng bare
hyme/ thought that at lengthe the kyng myght caulle hyme home
agayn/ And if he so did/ they supposed that he wold rather
Imagyn ayenst theme/ than to remytt or forgett ther Crueltie
w^{che} they most oniously Imagined ayenst hyme// warfore they
10 compased in ther hedes that they wold owther by some means
dispatche hyme by some synester Accusacion of treason/ or to
bryng hyme in to the kynges highe indignacion by some other
wayes/ this was ther dayly Imagynacion & studye/ hauyng as
many spyalles and as many eyes to attend vppon his doynge (as
15 the poettes fayn Argos to haue)/ So that he cowld nother worke/
or do any thyng but that his ennemyes had knowlege therof
shortly after/ Nowe at the last they espied a tyme wherein they
caught an occasion/ to bryng ther purpose to passe thyng
therbye to haue of hyme a great avauntage/ ffor the matter beyng
20 oons disclosed vnto the kyng in suche a vehemencie as they
purposed/ they thought the kyng wold be moved ayenst hyme w^t
great displeasure/ And that [f. 75^v] by them executyd & don/
the kyng vppon ther Informacion/ thought it good that he shold
come vppe to stand to his triall/ w^{che} they lyked no thyng at
25 all/ Notw^tstandyng he was sent for after thys sort/ ffirst they
devysed that he shold come vppe ap^{on} arest in ward the w^{che}
they knewe right well wold so sore greve hyme that he myght be
the weker to come in to the kynges presence to make answer/
wherfore they sent sir walter welshe knyght (oon of the
30 gentilmen of the kynges pryve chamber)/ down in to the
Contrie vnto the Erle of Northumberland (who was brought
vppe in my lordes howsse) w^t a Commyssion/ And they twayn
beyng in commyssion/ Ioyntly to arrest my lord of haulte treason/
thys conclusion fully resolved/ they caused m^r walsse to
35 prepare hyme selfe to thys Iourney w^t this commyssion and

11 to *canc.* before dispatche; some *interl.*

canc. before and

all Notw^tstandyng

before haulte

20 they *interl.*

28 come *canc.* before come

12 kynges *interl.*

25 all/ Notw^tstandyng] *MS.*

33 hal *canc.*

14 as

Certyn Instruccion annexed to the same/ who made hyme redy
to ride and toke his horsse at the Court gate Abought oon of the
clocke at none vppon halhalou day/ towards the Northe/ **Nowe**
ame I come to the place where I wyll declare the thyng that I
promysed you byfore of a certyn token of my lordes troble ^{w^{che}} 5
was thys/ **My lord** syttyng at dynner vppon Alhalou day in
Cawood castell hauyng at his bordes end dyuers of his most
worthiest chapleyns syttyng at dynner to kepe hyme company
for lake of Strayngers/ ye shall vnderstand that my lordes great
crosse of Syluer accustomedly stode in the corner at the tables 10
end leanyng ayenst the tappett or hangyng of the chamber/ And
whan the tables end was taken vppe/ & a convenyent tyme for
theme to arryse/ And in arryssyng frome the tabyll/ oon doctor
Augusteyn/ the phisicion beyng a venycian borne/ hauyng a
boystors gown of blake veluett vppon hyme/ As he wold haue 15
come owt at the tables end his gown ouerthrewe the crosse that
stode there in the corner/ And the Crosse raylyng down along
the tappett it chaunced to fall vppon doctor Bonners hed ^{w^{che}}
stod among other by the tappett makyng of Curtesy to my lord
and w^t oon of the poyntz of the [f. 76] crosse Raced hys hed a 20
littill that the blode ran down/ the company standyng there
ware greatly astoned w^t the chaunce (my lord syttyng in his
chayer) lokyng vppon them perceyved the chaunce/ demaundyd
of me beyng next hyme what the matter ment of ther soden
abasshement/ I shewed hyme howe the Crosse fyll vppon doctor 25
Bonners hed/ hathe it/ q^d he/ drawen any bloode/ yea forsothe
my lord/ q^d I/ as it semythe me/ w^t that he cast down hys hed
lokyng very soberly vppon me a good while w^tout any word
spekyng/ at the last/ q^d he/ shakynge of hys hed/ **Malum Omen**/
And therw^t sayd grace/ and rose frome the table/ And went in to 30
his bed chamber there lamentyng makyng his prayers/ Nowe
marke the sygnyficacion howe my lord expoundyd this matter
vnto me after ward at Pountfrett Abbey/ ffirist ye shall vnderstand
that by the Crosse ^{w^{che}} belonged to the dygnytie of yorke/ he

8 sytt *canc. before* syttyng; syttyng *interl.*

11 at *canc. before* ayenst

12 a and tyme for *interl.*; for tyme of *with* for tyme *interl. canc. before* tyme

16 w^t *canc. before* his

17 there *interl.*

20 brake *canc. before*

Raced; Raced *interl.*

21 down/ the] *MS.* down the

23 vppon

them *interl.*

25 doctor] *MS.* doctors

27 I thynke so *interl.*

and *canc. before* as

- vnderstode to be hymeself/ And by Augusteyn he vnderstode that ouerthrewe the Crosse to be he that shold accuse hyme/ by means wherof he shold be ouerthrowen/ the fallyng vppon m^r Bonners hed (who was m^r of my lordes faculties & sperytuall
 5 Iurisdiccions) w^{che} was dampned by the ouerthroweng of the crosse by the phisicion/ And by the drawyng of blode betokned deathe/ w^{che} shortly after came to pas/ About the same very tyme of the day of thys myschaunce m^r walshe toke hys horsse at the Court gate/ as nyghe as it coud be lured/ And thus my
 10 lord toke it for a very sygne or token of that w^{che} after enswed if the circumstaunce be equally considered & noted/ Allthoughe no man was there present at that tyme that had any knowlege of m^r walshes commyng down/ or what shold followe/ wherfore as it was supposed that god shewed hyme more secrett knowlege
 15 of his lattere dayes & end of his troble than all men supposed/ w^{che} appered right well by dyuers talkes (that he had w^t me at dyuers tymes) of his last end/ And now that I haue declared vnto you theeffect of this prodegye and sygn/ I wold retorne agayn to my matter//// [f. 76v]
 20 **The tyme drawyng** nyghe of his stallacion sittying at dynner vppon the ffriday next byfore monday on the w^{che} he entendyd to be stalled at yorke/ the Erle of Northumberland and m^r walshe w^t a great company of gentilmen/ as well of therles seruauntes as of the Contrie w^{che} he had gathered together to accompany
 25 hyme in the kynges name (not knowyng to what purpose or to what entent) came in to the hall at Cawood (the officers sittying at dynner/ and my lord not fully dynd) but beyng at his freuctes/ nothyng knowyng of therles beyng in his hall/ The first thyng that therle dyd after he came in to the Castell com-
 30 maunded the Porter to delyuer hyme the kayes of the gattes who wold in no wyse delyuer hyme the kayes/ allthoughe he ware very roughly commaundynd in the kynges name to delyuer theme/ to oon of therles seruauntes/ Seyeng vnto therle/ Sir ye do entend to delyuer them to oon of yo^r seruauntes to kepe theme & the

1 hy *canc.* after vnderstode; to be *interl.* 8 of the day *interl.*
 11 ther was *canc.* after Allthoughe 12 was *interl.* 20 and *canc.*
before at 22 and m^r] *MS.* and/ m^r 26 who *canc.* before came
 27 dynner/] / *written over*) 30 gattes of *canc.* after hyme the; gattes
canc. before gattes; gattes *interl.*

gattes and to plant an other in my rome/ I knowe no cause whye
ye shold so do/ and this I assure you that yo^r lordshipe hathe
no oon seruaunte but that I ame as able to kepe theme as he/ to
what purpose so euer it be/ And also the keyes ware delyuerd
me by my lord my M^r w^t a charge bothe by othe & by other 5
preceptes & commaundeme^{tes} therfore I beseche yo^r lordshipe
to pardon me/ thowghe I refuse yo^r commaundeme^t ffor what
so euer ye shall commaunde me to do that belongyth to my
office/ I shall do it w^t a right good wyll as Iustly as any other of
yo^r seruauntes/ w^t that q^d the gentilmen there present vnto 10
therle (heryng hyme speke so stoutly lyke a man & w^t so good
reason) Sir/ q^d they/ he is a good ffellowe & spekythe lyke a
faythfull seruaunt vnto his m^r/ and lyke an honest man/ therfore
geve hyme yo^r charge and lett hyme kepe still the gattes/ who we
dought not wyll be obedyent to yo^r lordshipes commaundeme^t/ 15
Well than/ q^d therle/ hold hyme a boke and commaund hyme to
lay his hand vppon the boke/ where at the porter made some
dought/ but beyng perswadyd by the gentilmen there present/
was contentid/ and layed his hand vppon the boke/ to whome/
q^d therle/ thou shall swere to kepe well & truly thes gattes to the 20
kynges our souerayn lordes vse and to do all suche thynges as
we shall commaund the in the kynges name beyng his hyghnes
commyssioners and as it shall seme to vs at all tymes good as
long as we shalbe here in the Castell/ And that [f. 77] ye shall
not lett in nor owte at thes gattes but suche as ye shalbe com- 25
maundyd/ by vs frome tyme to tyme/ And vppon this othe he
receyved the kayes at therles and m^r walshes handes/ of all thes
doynge knewe my lord no thyng/ for they stopped the stayers
that went vppe in to my lordes chamber where he sate/ so that
no man cowlde passe vppe agayn that was come down/ At the last 30
oon of my lordes seruauntes chaunced to loke down in to the
hall at a loope that was vppon the stayers and retorned to my
lord that shewed hyme that my lord of Northumbeland was in
the hall/ where at my lord marvelled and wold not beleve hyme
at the fyrst but commaundyd a gentilman/ beyng his gentilman 35

2 you *canc.* before you; you that *interl.*

seruauntes w^t 12 / q^d they/ *interl.*

15-16 commaundeme^t/ Well] M^s. commaundeme^t Well

loke *canc.* before loke

33 & *canc.* before that shewed

10 seruauntes/ w^t] M^s.

15 o *canc.* before obedyent

31 of *interl.*;

34 not *interl.*

vssher to goe down & bryng hyme perfight word/ Who goyng
 down the stayers loking down at the loope/ where he sawe therle/
 who than retorned to my lord & shewed hyme that it was very
 he/ than/ q^d my lord/ I ame sory that we haue dyned for I feare
 5 that our officers be not stored of any plenty of good ffysshe/ to
 make hyme suche honorable chere/ as to hys estate ys con-
 venyent/ Notw^tstandyng he shall haue suche as we haue/ w^t a
 right good wyll and lovyng hart/ lett the table be standyng still
 and we woll goo down and meate hyme/ and bryng hyme vppe
 10 and than he shall se howe ferreforthe we be at our dynner/ w^t
 that he put the table frome hyme/ and rose vppe/ goyng down
 he encountred therle vppon the myddes of the stayers/ commyng
 vppe/ w^t all hys men abought hyme/ And as sone as my lord
 espied therle he put of hys cappe/ and sayd to hyme/ my lord ye
 15 be most hartely welcome (And therw^t they enbraced eche other)
 Althoughe my lord/ q^d he/ that I haue often desired and wysshed
 in my hart to se you in my howsse/ yet if ye had lovyd me as I
 do you/ ye wold haue sent me word byfore of yo^r commyng to
 thentent that I myght haue receyved you accordyng to yo^r
 20 honor & myn/ Notw^tstandyng ye shall haue suche cheare as I
 ame able to make you w^t a right good wyll/ trustyng that ye wyll
 accepte the same of me as of yo^r very old & lovyng frend/ hopyng
 hereafter to se you oftener whan I shalbe more able and better
 provydyd to receyve you/ w^t better fare/ [f. 77v] And than my
 25 lord toke my lord of Northeumberland by the hand & led hyme
 vppe in to the Chamber/ whome folowed all therles seruauntes
 where the table stode in thestate that my lord left it whan he
 rose/ sayeng vnto therle/ Sir nowe ye may perceyve howe
 ferforthe we ware at our dynner/ my lord led therle to the fier
 30 sayng my lord ye shall goo in to my bed chamber where is a
 good fier made for you/ and there ye may shyfte yo^r apparell
 vntill yo^r chamber be made redy therfore lett yo^r male be
 brought vppe and or euer I goo I pray you geve me leave to take
 thes gentilmen yo^r seruauntes by the handes/ And whan he had

2 at the loope *canc. after* loking down; my lord *canc. before* therle

8 table

canc. before table
canc. after if; ye *interl.*

11 vppe/ goyng] *MS.* vppe goyng

17 he

MS. rose sayeng

24 the *canc. before* my

28 rose/ sayeng]

34 g *canc. before* thes

taken thence all by the handes/ he returned to therle & sayed
 Ah my lord I perceyve well that ye haue obserued my old
 preceptes & Instruccions w^{che} I gave you whan ye ware abydyng
 w^t me in yo^r youthe/ w^{che} was to cheryshe yo^r fathers old
 seruauntes wherof I se here present w^t you a great number/ 5
 sewerly my lord ye do therin very well and nobly and lyke a wyse
 gentilman/ ffor thes be they that will not oonly serue & love you/
 but they wyll also lyve & die w^t you/ and be treu & faythfull
 seruauntes to you/ And glade to se you prosper in honor/ the
 w^{che} I beseche god send you w^t long lyve/// 10

Thys sayd/ he toke therle by the hand & led hyme in to hys
bedd chamber and they beyng there all alone (save oonly I that
kepte the doore/ accordyng to my dewtie beyng gentilman
vssher) thes ij lordes standyng at a wyndowe/ by the chymney
in my lordes bedd chamber/ therle tremlyng sayed w^t a very faynt 15
& softe voyce/ vnto my lord/ layeng his hand vppon his arme/
My lord/ q^d he/ I arrest you of hyghe treason/ w^t w^{che} wordes my
lord was marvelously astonyed standyng bothe still a long space
w^tout any ferther wordes/ but at the last/ q^d my lord/ what
movyth you or by what auctorytie do you this/ fforsothe my 20
lord/ I haue a commysion to warraunt me/ & my doynge/
where is yo^r commysion/ q^d my lord/ lett me se yt/ Nay sir that
you may not/ q^d therle/ well than/ q^d my lord/ I wyll not obey
yo^r arrest/ ffor ther hathe byn bytween some of yo^r predecessors
& myn great contencion & debate growen vppon an auncient 25
grudge/ w^{che} may succed in you w^t lyke inconvenyence as it
hathe done here tofore/ therfor onlesse I se yo^r Auctoryte and
commysion I wyll not obey you/ Evyn as/ [f. 78] they were
debatyng this matter bytween them in the chamber/ So busily
was m^r walshe arrestyng of Doctor Augustyn/ the phisicion/ at 30
the doore w^tin the portall whome I hard saye vnto hyme/ goo in
thou traytor or I shall make the/ And w^t that I opnyed the
portall doore And the same beyng opyn/ m^r walshe thrust
doctor augustyn in byfore hyme w^t vyolence/ thes matters on

1 returned] MS. retourned 8 die w^t you/] MS. die/ w^t you
9 prosper] MS. propser 10 you *canc.* after beseche; to *canc.* before send
and he before lyve 13 doore/] / written over) 14 vssher)])
written over / 20 by interl. 21 q^d therle *canc.* after lord/
27 tofore/ therfor] MS. tofore therfor

bothe the sides/ astonyied me very sore/ musyng what all this
 shold mean/ vntill at the last m^r walshe beyng entered the
 chamber/ began to plukke of hys hode/ the w^{che} he had mad
 hyme w^t a Cote of the same clothe/ of Cotten/ to thentent that
 5 he wold not be knowen/ And after he had pluke it of/ he kneled
 down to my lord/ to whome my lord spake first sayeng thus
 (commaundyng hyme to stand vppe)/ Sir here my lord of
 Northumberland hathe arrested me of treason but by what
 auctorytie or commysion he shewyth me not but saythe he
 10 hathe oon/ if ye be pryve therto or be Ioyned w^t hyme therin/
 I pray you shewe me/ In dead my lord/ q^d m^r walshe/ if it please
 yo^r grace/ it is trewe that he hathe oon/ well than seyde my lorde
 I pray you lett me se it/ sir I beseche yo^r grace hold vs excused/
 q^d m^r walshe/ ther is annexed vnto our commysion a Sedell w^t
 15 certyn Instruccions w^{che} you may in no wyse be prive vnto/ why
 q^d my lord/ be yo^r Instruccions suche that I may not se theme/
 paraenture if I myght be pryve to them I cowld the better
 helpe you to performe theme/ yt is not onknowen vnto you bothe
 I ame assured but I haue byn pryve & of counsell in as waytie
 20 matters as this is/ ffor I dought not for my part but I shall
 prove & cleare my self to be a trewe man/ ayenst theexpectacion/
 of all my Cruell ennemyes/ I haue an vnderstandyng where
 vppon all this matter growyth/ well there is no more to do I
 trowe gentilman ye be oon of the kynges pryve chamber yo^r
 25 name I suppose is (walshe) I ame content to yeld vnto you/ but
 not to my lord of Northumberland/ w^tout I se his commysion/
 And also you are a sufficyent commysion/ yo^r self in that
 behalfe in as myche as ye be oon of the kynges privy chamber/
 ffor the worst person there/ is a sufficient warraunt to arrest the
 30 greattest peere of this realme/ by the kynges oonly com-
 maundeme^t w^tout any commysion/ Therfore I ame redy to be
 ordered & disposed att yo^r wyll/ put ther fore the kynges

1 all *interl.*7 hyme *interl.*10 Io *canc.* before w^t12 lord *canc.* before lorde15 wyse *interl.*19 ass *canc.* beforeame 21 cleare] *r written over either l or h*22 ennemyes/ I] *MS.*

ennemyes I

25 name *interl.*27 in *canc.* before yo^r

28 as

interl. before ye31 co *canc.* before commysion; redy to be *interl.*32 ed of ordered and & *interl.*; to *canc.* before ordered; & *canc.* before &; wyll/
put] *MS.* wyll put; the kynges *interl.*

commyssion and yo^r auctory in execucion/ a goddes name/
 [f. 78^v] And spare not and I wyll obey the kynges wyll &
 pleasure/ ffor I feare more the crueltie of my onmercyfull
 ennemyes/ than I do my treuthe & allegyaunce/ wherin I take
 god to witnes I neuer offendyd the kynges mat^{ie} in word or dede 5
 And therin I dare stand face to face w^t any man a lyve hauyng
 Indifferency w^tout parcyalitie/ 'Than came my lord of North-
 umberland vnto me standyng at the portall doore/ And com-
 maundyd me to avoyd the chamber (And beyng lothe to depart
 frome my m^r) stode still and wold not remove/ to whome he 10
 spake agayn & seyde there is no remedy ye must nedys departe/
 w^t that I loked vppon my lord (as who sayth shall I goo) vppon
 whome my lord loked very hevely/ And shoke at me hys hed/
 perceyvyng by hys countenaunce/ it boted me not to abyde/ And
 so I departed the chamber/ And went in to the next chamber/ 15
 where abode many gentilmen of my fellowes and other/ to
 learne of me somme newes of the matter w^t in/ To whome I
 made report/ what I sawe & hard/ w^{che} was to them great hevynes
 to here/ 'Than therle called dyuers gentilmen in to the chamber
 w^{che} ware for the most part of his owen seruauntes/ And after 20
 therle & m^r walshe had taken the keyes of all my lordes cofferr
 frome hyme/ they gave the charge & custody of my lordes person
 vnto thes gentilmen/ they departed and went about the
 howsse to sett all thynges in order that nyght ayenst the next
 mornyng entendyng than to depart frome thence/ w^t my lord 25
 beyng Saturday the w^{che} they deferred vntill Sonday bycause all
 thynges cowlde not be brought to passe as they wold haue it/ They
 went busely a bought to conueye doctor Augustyn a way to
 london ward w^t as myche spede/ as they cowlde sendyng w^t
 hyme dyuers honest persons to conduct hyme who was tied 30
 vnder the horsse belly And this don when it was nyght/ thes
 commyssioners assigned ij Grommes of my lordes to attend
 vppon hyme in his chamber that nyght/ where they lay/ And the
 most part of the rest of therles gentilmen seruauntes whatched

1 yo^r *canc. before* commyssion, in *before* and, and & *before* in; and yo^r *and*
 in *interl.* 15 *de* *canc. before* 1 17 *howe* *canc. after* newes; of *interl.*
before the 20 *after* *interl.* 27 *all th* *canc. before* cowlde 28 to
canc. before a way 34 of *canc. before* part; gentilmen *interl.*; wath *canc.*
before whatched

in the next chamber and abought the howsse contynually vntill
the morowe/ And the porter kept the gattes so that no man
cowlde goo in ne owt vntill the next mornyng at w^{che} tyme my
lord rose vppe supposyng that he shold haue departed that day//
5 howbeit he was kept cloose secretly in his [f. 79] chamber
expectyng contynually his departure frome thence/ Than therle
sent for me in to his owen chamber/ And beyng there/ he com-
maundyd me to goo in to my lord and there to geve attendaunce
vppon hym/ And charged me vppon an othe that I shold
10 obserue certyn Articles/ And goyng away frome hym towards
my lord/ I met w^t m^r walshe/ in the Court/ who called me vnto
hyme & led me in to hys chamber/ And there shewed me that
the kynges highnes bare towards me his pryncely fauour for
my dyligent & true seruyce that I dayly mynestred towards my
15 lord & m^r/ wherfore/ q^d he/ the kynges pleasure is/ that ye shalbe
abought yo^r m^r as most cheffest person in whome his highnes
puttyth great confidence/ And assured trust/ whos pleasure is
therfore that ye shalbe sworne vnto hys ma^{tie} to obserue certyn
articles in writyng the w^{che} I wold deliucere you/ Sir/ q^d I/ my lord
20 of Northumberland hathe all redy sworne me to dyuers
articles/ yea/ q^d he/ but my lord cowlde not delyuer you the
articles in writyng as I ame commaundyd specyally to do
therfore I delyuer you this byll w^t thes articles/ to the w^{che} ye
shalbe sworne to fulfill/ Sir than/ q^d I/ I pray you to geve me
25 leave to peruse theme or euer I be sworne to se if I be able to
performe theme// w^t a right good wyll/ q^d he/ And whan I had
perused theme and vnderstod that they ware but reasonable &
tollerable/ I answered that I was contented to obey the kynges
pleasure and to be sworne to the performaunce of them/ And so
30 he gave me an newe othe/ And than I resorted to my lord where
he was in his chamber syttyng in a chayer the table beyng
couered redy for hym to goo to dynner/ but as sone as he
perceyved me commyng in/ he fill in to suche an woofull
lamentacion w^t suche rewoffull termes & waterye eyes/ that it wold
35 haue caused the flyntiest hart to haue relented & burst for
sorowe/ And as I and other cowlde comforted hym but it wold

3 goo *interl.*; owte *canc. before owt*; ro *canc. before at*

hyyme

18 hi *canc. before ma^{tie}*9 hyme] *MS.*36 sorye *canc. before sorowe*

not be/ ffor nowe/ q^d he/ that I se this gentilman/ (meanyng by
me) howe faythefull/ howe diligent/ And howe paynfull, synce
the begynneng of my troble/ he hathe serued me/ Abandonyng
his owen contrie/ his wyfe & [f. 79^v] childerne/ his howsse &
famelye/ his rest & quyotnes/ only to serue me/ And remembryng 5
w^t my self that I haue no thyng to reward hym for his honest
merytes grevythe me not a littill/ And also the sight of hym
puttythe me in remembraunce of the number of my faythfull
seruauntes/ that I haue here remaynyng w^t me in this howsse
whome I did entend to haue preferred & auauanced to the best 10
of my power from tyme to tyme as occasion shold serue/ but
nowe alas I ame preventyd/ & haue no thyng laft me to reward
theme/ ffor all is depryved me/ and I ame laft here ther desolat
& myserable m^r bare & wretched/ w^tout helpe or socoure but of
god alone// howbeit/ q^d he/ to me (callyng me by my name)/ 15
I ame a trewe man and therefore ye shall neuer receyve shame of
me for yo^r seruyce/ I perceyvyng his heuynes & lamentable
wordes sayd thus vnto hym/ my lord I mystrust no thyng yo^r
trewthe/ And for the same I dare & wyll be sworne/ byfore the
kynges person and hys honorable Councell/ wherfore (knelyng 20
vppon my knee byfore hym)/ sayd/ my lord comfort yo^r self and
be of good chere/ the malice of yo^r oncharitable ennemyes nor
ther ontrouthe shall neuer prevayle ayenst yo^r truethe and
faythfulnes/ ffor I doubt not but commyng oons to yo^r
answere/ my hope is suche that ye shall so acquyt & cleare yo^r 25
self of all ther surmysed & fayned accusacions that it shall be to
the kynges contentacion and myche to yo^r auauancement &
restitution of yo^r former dygnyte & estate/ yea/ q^d he/ if I may
come to myn answer I feare no man a lyve/ ffor he lyvyth not
vppon the yerthe that shall loke vppon this face (poyntyng to 30
his owen face)/ shall be able to accuse me of any ontrouthe/ And
that knowyth myn ennemyes full well/ w^{che} woll be an occasion
that I shall not haue Indifferent Iustice/ but woll rather seke
some other synyster wayes to distroy me/ Sir/ q^d I/ ye nede not
therin to dowght the kyng beyng so myche yo^r good lord as he 35
hathe allwayes shewed hym self to be/ in all yo^r troubles/ w^t that
came vppe my lordes meate/ and so we left our commynycacion/

I gave hyme water & satt hyme down to dynner (w^t whome sate
 dyuers of therles gentilmen)/ notw^tstanding my lord did eate
 very littill meate/ but wold many tymes burst owte sodenly in
 teares w^t the most sorowfullest [f. 80] wordes that hathe byn
 5 hard of any wofull creature/ And at the last he fetched a great
 sighe frome the bottome of his hart sayeng thes wordes of
 scripture/ *O constancia martirum laudabilis/ O charitas in-*
extinguibilis/ O paciencia/ Invincibilis// Que licet inter pressuras
persequencium visa sit despicabilis// Invenietur in laudem et
 10 *gloriam et honorem in tempore tribulacionis/* And thus passed he
 forthe his dynner in great lamentacion & hevynes/ who was
 more fed & moysted w^t sorowe & teares than w^t owther
 pleasaunt metes or dylicate drynkes// I suppose there was not a
 drie eye among all the gentilmen/ syttyng at the table w^t hyme/
 15 And whan the table was taken vppe/ it was shewed my lord that
 he could not remove that nyght (who expected none other all
 that daye)// q^d he/ evyn whan it shall seme my lord of North-
 umberland good/ the next day my lord prepared hyme self
 (beyng Sondag) to ride/ whan he shold be commaundyd/ And
 20 after dynner/ be that tyme that therle hade appoynted all thyng
 in good order w^t in the castell/ yt drewe fast to nyght/ there was
 assigned to attend vppon hyme fyve of vs his owen seruauntes
 and no mo/ that was to sey/ I/ oon chapleyn/ his barbor & ij
 Gromes of his chamber/ And whan he shold goo down the
 25 stayers owt of the great chamber my lord demaundyd for the
 rest of his seruauntes/ therle answered that they ware not farre
 (the w^{che} he had enclosed w^t in the Chappell by cause they shold
 not disquyt his departure) sir I pray you/ q^d my lord/ lett me se
 theme or euer I depart or elles I woll neuer goo owt of this
 30 howsse/ alake my lord/ q^d therle/ they shold troble you therfore
 I beseche you to content yo^r self/ well/ q^d my lord/ than wyll I
 not depart owt of this howsse but I wyll se theme & take my
 leave of theme in this chamber/ And his seruauntes beyng
 inclosed in the chappell hauyng vnderstandyng of my lordes

2 ge with g written over s *canc. before gentilmen* 5 at *interl.* 6 s *canc.*
before sayeng 8 *ter of inter interl.* 9 *despicabilis] MS. desplicabilis;*
e canc. after Invenietur 13 *pleasaunt] MS. pleasauntes; metes interl.*
 21 d *canc. before nyght* 22 *fyve and vs interl.* 23 v *seruauntes*
canc. before and 33 *byfore I goo owt of canc. before in; in interl.*

departyng awaye and that they shold not se hyme byfore his
 departure/ began to grudge and to make suche a rewfull noyce/
 that the commyssioners dowed some tumult or enconvenyence
 to aryse by reason therof/ thought it good to lett them passe owt
 to my lord/ and that don they came to hyme in to the great 5
 chamber where he was [f. 80^v] and there they kneled down/
 byfore hyme among whome was not oon drie eye/ but pytiffully
 lamentyd ther maysters fall and troble/ to whome my lord gave
 comfortable wordes and worthy praysis for ther dyligent
 faythfullnes & honest treuthe/ towards hyme/ assuring them 10
 that what chaunces so euer shold happen vnto hyme that he is a
 true man and a lust to his souerayn lord and thus w^t a lamentable
 maner shakyng eche of them by the handes was fayne to departe
 the nyght drewe so fast vppon theme/ My lordes mewle & our
 horsys ware redy brought in to the Inner Court where we 15
 mounted/ and commyng to the gate/ w^{che} was shett the porter
 opened the same/ to lett vs passe/ where was redy attendyng a
 great number of gentilmen w^t ther seruantes (suche as therle
 assigned) to conduct & auttend vppon hys person/ that nyght to
 Pumfrett and so forthe as ye shall here/ here after/ But to tell 20
 you of the number of people of the Contrie that ware assembled
 at the gates w^{che} lamentyd his departyng/ was wonderous/ w^{che}
 was abought the number of iij Mⁱ persons/ who at the opynyng
 of the gattes after they had a sight of his person/ cried all w^t a
 lowd voyce/ god save yo^r grace/ god save yo^r grace/ the fowlle 25
 evyll take all theme that hathe thus taken you frome vs we pray
 god that a very vengeaunce may light vppon theme/ thus they
 ran crieng after hyme thoroughe the town of Cawood they
 lovyd hyme so well/ for suerly they had a greate losse of hyme
 bothe the poore & the Riche/ ffor the poore had of hyme great 30
 releafe/ and the riche lakked his counsell in any busynes that
 they had to do/ w^{che} caused hyme to haue suche love among
 theme/ in the Contrie/ Than rode he w^t his conductors towards
 Pumfrett/ and by the way as he rode he axed me if I had any
 famylier acquayntaunce among thes gentilmen that rode w^t 35

2 departure] MS. deputation

3 enconvenyence] final e frayed away

at edge of page

4 to arise *canc.* before to arise; reso *canc.* before reason

5 to interl. before the

6 was] s frayed away at edge of page

12 sh *canc.*

before w^t

29 theme *canc.* before second hyme

32 the *canc.* before suche

hyme/ yea sir sayd I what is yo^r pleasure/ mary/ q^d he/ I haue left
 a thyng behynd me w^{che} I wold fayn haue/ Sir sayd I if I knewe
 what it ware I wold send for it owt of hand/ Then sayed he lett
 the messenger goo to my lord of Northumberland/ and desier
 5 hyme to send me the [f. 81] Red bokerham bagg lyeng in my
 Almery in my chamber sealed w^t my seale/ w^t that I departed
 frome hyme/ and went strayt vnto sir Roger lasselles knyght
 who was than Steward to therle of Northeumberland beyng
 among the rowt of horssemen as oon of the cheaffest rewlars/
 10 whome I desired to send some of hys seruantes bake vnto
 therle his m^r for that purpose the w^{che} graunted most gently my
 request and sent incontynent oon of his seruantes vnto my
 lord to Cawood for the sayd bagg/ who did so honestly his
 mesuage that he brought the same to my lord Immedyaty after
 15 he was in his chamber w^t in the Abbey of Pumfrett where he lay
 all nyght/ In w^{che} bagg was no other thyng enclosed but iij^{re}
 shyrtes of heare w^{che} he delyuerd to the chapleyn his gostly
 father very secretly/ ffurthermore as we roode toward Poumfrett
 my lord demaundyd of me/ whether they wold lede hyme that
 20 nyght/ fforsothe sir/ q^d I/ but to Poumfrett/ Alas/ q^d he/ shall
 I goo to the Castell and lye there & dye lyke a beast/ Sir I can
 tell you no more what they do entend but sir I wyll enquer
 here among thes gentilmen of a specyall frend of myn whoo is
 cheafe of all ther councell/ w^t that I repayed vnto the sayd
 25 sir Roger lasselles knyght desiryng hyme most earnestly that he
 wold vouche salve to shewe me whether my lord shold goo to
 be logged that nyght who answered me agayn that my lord shold
 be lodged w^t in the abbey of Poumfrett and in non other place/
 and so I reported to my lord who was glade therof/ so that w^t in
 30 nyght we came to Poumfrett Abbey & there logged And therle
 remayned still all that nyght in Cawood castell/ to se the dispeche
 of the houshold/ And to establysshe all the stuffe/ in some
 sewertie wⁱⁿ the same/ The next day they removed w^t my lord

2 I wold] MS. I I wold

land/ 5 buke/ *canc. before bagg*

canc. before knyght; knyght interl.

16 nyght/ In] MS. nyght In

fforsothe] MS. nyght fforsothe

interl.

cell w^t

23 d *canc. after myn*

25 h *canc. after most*

4 and desier hyme/ *canc. after Northumber-*

7 knyght *interl. and*

9 rewlars *canc. before rewlars*

19 whether *interl.*

21 of *canc. before and*

22 do

24 councell/ w^t] MS. coun-

towardes Dancaster desyryng that he myght come thether by
 nyght by cause the people folowed hyme wepyng & lamentyng/
 and so they dyd neuer the lesse althoughe he came in by torche
 lyght/ crieng (god save yo^r grace) god save yo^r grace my good
 lord Cardynall/ runnyng byfore hyme w^t Candelles in ther 5
 handes/ Who caused me therfore to ride hard by his mule to
 shadowe hyme frome the people/ and yet they perceyved hyme
 cursyng his ennemyes/ And/ [f. 81^v] thus they brought hyme to
 the blake ffreers w^t in the w^{che} they logged hyme that nyght/
 And the next day we removed to Sheffield parke where therle of 10
 Shrewsbury lay w^t in the loge/ and all the way thetherward the
 people cried & lamented as they dyd in all places as we rode
 byfore/ And whan we came to the parke of Sheffield nyghe to the
 logge my lord of Shrewesbury w^t my lady his wyfe a trayn of
 gentillwomen And all my lordes gentilmen & yomen/ standyng 15
 w^tout the gattes of the logge to attend my lordes commyng to
 receyve hyme w^t myche honor whome therle enbraced sayeng
 thes wordes/ My lord/ q^d he/ yo^r grace is most hartely welcome
 vnto me And glade to se you in my poore logge the w^{che} I haue
 often desired/ And myche more gladder if you had come after an 20
 other sort/ Ah my gentill lord of Shrowesbury/ q^d my lord/
 I hartely thanke you/ And althoughe I haue no cause to reioyce/
 yet as a sorowefull hart may Ioye/ I reioyce my chaunce w^{che} is
 so good to come in to the handes & custody of so noble a person/
 whos approved honour & wysdome hathe byn allwayes right 25
 well knowen to all nobell estates/ And sir howe so euer my
 ongentill accusers hathe vsed ther accusacions ayenst me/ yet
 I assure you and so by fore yo^r lordshipe and all the world I do
 protest that my demeanor & procedynges hathe byn Iust and
 loyall towardes my souerayn & liege lord/ of whos behaour & 30
 doynge yo^r lordshipe hathe had good experyence/ And evyn
 accordyng to my trowthe & faythfulnes/ so I beseche god helpe
 me in this my calamytie/ I dought no thyng of yo^r trouthe/ q^d
 therle/ therfore my lord I beseche you be of good chere/ and
 feare not/ for I haue receyved letters frome the kyng of his owen 35
 hand/ in yo^r fauour And entertaynyng the w^{che} you shall se/ Sir

6 handes/ Who] MS. handes Who

9 that] hat *written over o*

23 a *interl.* 24 th *canc. after good*

30 lyge *canc. before liege;*

of *interl.*

- I ame no thyng sory but that I haue not wherw^t worthely to receyve you & to entertayn you accordyng to yo^r honour & my good wyll/ but suche as I haue ye are most hartely welcome therto desiryng you to accept my good wyll accordyngly/ ffor
- 5 I woll not receyve you as a prisoner but as my good lord and the kynges trewe faythfull subiecte/ And here is my wyfe/ come to salute you/ whome my lord kyst barehedyd/ and all hir gentilwomen/ [f. 82] and toke my lordes seruantes by the handes as well gentilmen & yomen/ as other/ than thes ij lordes went
- 10 arme in arme in to the logge conductyng my lord in to a fayer Chamber at thend of a goodly gallery w^t in a newe tower where my lord was lodged/ there was also in the myddes of the same Gallery a trauers of Sarcenet drawn so that thoon part was preserued for my lord & thother part for therle////
- 15 **Than departed all the** great nember of gentillmen and other that conducted my lord to therles of Shrewsburies/ And my lord beyng there contynued there xvij^{en} dayes after/ vppon whome therle appoynted dyuers gentilmen of his seruantes to serue my lord for as myche as he had a small nember of
- 20 seruantes there to serue/ and also to se that he laked no thyng that he wold desier/ beyng serued in his owen chamber at dynner and Supper as honorably and w^t as many dayntye disshes as he had most comenly in his owen howsse beyng at libertie/ And oons euery day therle wold resorte vnto hyme And sitt w^t
- 25 hyme commonyng vppon a benche in a great wyndowe in the Gallery And thoughe therle wold right hartely comfort hyme yet wold he lament so pitiously that it wold make therle very sory & hevye for his greue/ Sir sayd he/ I haue & daylye do receyve letters frome the kyng commaundyng me to entertayn
- 30 you as oon that he lovythe and hyghely fauoryth wherby I perceyve ye do lament w^tout any great cause myche more than ye nede/ to do/ And thoughe ye be accused (as I thynke in god fayth) oniuistly/ yet the kyng can do no lesse but put you to yo^r triall/ the w^{che} is more for the satisfieng of some persons/ than he

2 ente *canc.* before entertayn; entertayn you] you written over w^t 4 you interl.; & *canc.* before accordyngly 10 and *canc.* before conductyng
 20 to ser *canc.* before there 26 com *canc.* before comfort 28 do *canc.* before daylye 32 d *canc.* before nede; ye be interl.; thyng *canc.* before thynke; thynke interl. 34 the interl. after for

hathe for any mystrust in yo^r doyenges/ Alas/ q^d my lord/ to
 therle/ ys it not a pitious case that any man shold so wrongfully
 accuse me vnto the kynges person And not to come to myn
 Answer/ byfore his ma^{tie}/ ffor I ame well assured (my lord) that
 there is no man alyve or deade that lokythe in this face of myn/ 5
 is able to accuse me of any disloyaltie towards the kyng/ Oh
 howe myche than dothe it grevythe me/ that the kyng shold
 haue/ [f. 82^v] any suspicyous oppynyon in me to thynke that
 I wold be false or conspire any evyll to his Royall person/ who
 may well consider that I haue no assured frend in all the world 10
 in whome I put my trust but oonly in his grace/ ffor if I shold
 goo about to be traye my souerayn lord and prynce/ in whome
 is all my trust and confidence byfore all other persons/ all men
 myght iustly thynke & report/ that I lakked not oonly grace but
 also bothe wytte & discession/, Nay, Nay, my lord I wold rather 15
 adventure to shed my hart bloode/ in his defence/ as I ame
 bound to do by myn allegeaunce/ and Also for the savegard of
 my self/ than to Imagen his distruccion/ ffor he is my stafe that
 supportethe me/ And the wall that defendyth me/ ayenst my
 malygnaunt ennemyes/ and all other who knowythe best my 20
 trewthe byfore all men and hathe had therof best & longest
 experyence/ therfore to conclude/ it is not to be thought that
 euer I wold goo about or entend maliciously or trayterously
 to travell or whyshe/ any preiudice/ or dammage to his Royall
 person/ or Imperyall dignytie/ but as I sayd/ defend it w^t the 25
 shedyng of my hart blode/ and procure all men so to do/ And it
 ware but oonly for the defence of myn owen person/ and symple
 estate (the w^{che} my ennemyes thynke I do so myche esteme)
 hauyng non other refuge/ to flee to for defence or socoure in all
 aduersitie/ but vnder the shadowe of his ma^{ties} wyng/ Alas my 30
 lord/ I was in a good estate now & in case of a quoyt lyvyng
 right well content therw^t/ but the ennemy that neuer slepithe
 but studyeth & contynually Imagynyth/ bothe slepyng &
 wakyng my vtter distruccion/ perceyvythe the contentacion of

2 it *interl.*

canc. before towards

and

interl.; knowyst best *canc.* before my
 experyence therfore

28 & *canc.* before I

6 disho *canc.* after any; disloyaltie *interl.*; dylloyalltie/

7 than dothe *interl.*

16 to *interl.* and *canc.* before adventure

23 wold *interl.*

34 to *canc.* before my

12 p *canc.* before

20 knowythe best

22 experyence/ therfore] *MS.*

24 to *interl.* before travell

my mynd/ doughted that ther malicious & cruell dealyng wold
 at lengthe growe to ther shame & rebuke/ goythe abought
 therfore to prevent the same w^t shedyng of my blode/ but frome
 god (that knowythe the secrettes of ther hartes And of all
 5 others) it cannot be hyd/ ne yet onrewardyd whan he shall se
 opportunitie/ ffor my good lord if ye wyll shewe yo^r self so
 myche my good frend as to requyer the kynges ma^{tie} by yo^r
 letters/ that my accusers may come byfore my face in his
 presence/ And there that I may make answer/ I dought not
 10 but ye shall se me acquyte my self of all ther [f. 83] malicious
 accusacions/ And vtterly confound them/ ffor they shall neuer
 be able to prove by any dewe probacions that cuer I offendyd
 the kyng in wyll thought & deade/ therfore sir I desier you and
 most hartely requyer yo^r good lordshipe to be a meane for me
 15 that I may answer vnto my accusers byfore the kynges ma^{tie}//
 The case is his/ and if ther accusacions shold be true/ than shold
 it touche no man but hyme most earnestly/ wherfore it ware
 most convenyent that he shold here it hyme self in propir person/
 but I feare me/ that they do entend rather to depeche me then
 20 I shold com byfore hyme/ in his presence/ for they be well
 assured And very certeyn that my trouthe shold vanquesshe
 ther ontrouthe/ And surmysed accusacions w^{che} is the specyall
 cause that movythe me so earnestly to desier to make my
 Answer/ byfore the kynges ma^{tie}/ the losse of goodes// the
 25 slaunder of my name/ ne yet all my troble grevyth me no thyng
 so myche as the losse of the kynges fauour/ and that he shold
 haue in me suche an oppynyon w^tout deserte/ of ontrouthe/ that
 hathe w^t suche travell & payn serued his heyghenes so Iustly/
 so paynfully and w^t so faythfull an hart to his profett & honor/ at
 30 all tymes/ And also agayn the trouthe of my doynge ayenst ther
 oniust accusacyons/ proved most Iust and loyall shold be myche
 to my honestie/ and do me more good than to attayn great
 treasure/ As I dought not but it wyll if they myght be Indiffer-
 ently hard/ Nowe my good lord way ye my reasonable request/

1 that <i>interl.</i>	3 therfore to <i>canc.</i> before therfore	4 of <i>interl.</i> before
ther	12 dewe <i>interl.</i>	16 be <i>canc.</i> before shold be
y <i>written over e</i>	18 ly <i>canc.</i> after convenyent	17 hyme]
before they	31 do <i>canc.</i> before be and most after be	19 I en <i>canc.</i>
before not		33 bu <i>canc.</i>

And lett charitic/ and trouthe move yo^r noble hart w^t pitie to
 helpe me in all this my trowthe/ wherein ye shall take no maner
 of slaunder or rebuke (by the grace of god)// Well than/ q^d my
 lord of Shrewsbury/ I woll wright to the kynges ma^{tie}/ in yo^r
 behalf declaryng to hyme by my letters howe greuously ye 5
 lament his displeasure & Indignacion/ And what request ye
 make for the triall of yo^r trewthe towards his heyghnes/ Thus
 after thes commynycacions & dyuers others (as bytween theme
 dayly was accustomed) they departed a sonder/ where my lord
 contynued the space after of a fouerthnyght haueng goodly & 10
 honorable entertaynme^t whome therle wold often requyer hyme
 to kyll a doo or ij ther in the parke/ [f. 83v] who allwayes
 refused all maner of earthely pleasures & disportes owther in
 huntyng or in other games/ but applied his prayers contynually
 very devoutly/ So that it came to passe at certyne season sitting at 15
 dynner in his owen chamber hauyng at his bordes end that same
 day (as he dyuers tymes had to accompanye hyme)/ a messe of
 therles gentillmen & chappleyne/ And etyng of Rosted wardens at
 thend of his dynner/ by fore whome I stode at the table dressyng
 of thos wardons for hyme beholding of hyme perceyved hys 20
 Colour often to chaynge and alter dyuers tymes wherby I Iuged
 hyme nott to be in helthe/ w^{che} caused me to leane ouer the table/
 sayeng onto hyme/ softly/ Sir me semys yo^r grace/ is not well at
 ease/ he answered agayn and seyde/ forsothe no more I ame/ for
 I ame/ q^d he/ sodenly taken/ about my stomake/ w^t a thyng 25
 that lyethe ouerthwart my brest as cold as a whetston/ the w^{che}
 is but wynd/ therefore I pray you take vppe the clothe/ and make
 ye a short dynner/ and resort shortly agayn vnto me/ And after
 that the table was taken vppe/ I went & sat the wayters to dynner
 w^tout in the Gallery/ And resorted agayn to my lord where I 30
 found hyme still syttyng where I left hyme very evyll at ease/
 Norw^tstanding he was in commynycacions w^t the gentilmen
 sitting at the bordes end/ And asson as I was entred the Chamber
 he desired me/ to goo down to the pottecarie/ And to enquer

1 noble *interl.* 8 theme *interl.* 20 hyme] *MS.* hymee 22 o *canc.*
 before ouer 29 that *interl.*; that that with second that *interl.* *canc.*
 before table; a superfluous the is *interl.* after the cancellation and before table
 30 I *canc.* before And; And *interl.* 32 commynycacions] s written over e
 33 sitting *interl.* 34 to *canc.* after down; to *interl.* before the

of hyme/ whether he had any thyng that wold breke wynd
 vppward/ and accordyng to hys commaundeme^t I went my way
 towards the pottecarye/ and by the way I remembord oon
 article of myn othe byfore made vnto m^r walshe/ w^{che} caused me
 5 first to goo to therle/ and shewed hyme bothe what estate he was
 in/ & also what he desired at the potticaries hand for his releafe/
 w^t that therle caused the pottecarie to be called Incontynent
 byfore hyme/ of whome he demaundyd whether he had any
 thyng to breke wynd that troblyth oon in his brest/ And he
 10 answered that he had suche gere/ than q^d therle/ fetch me some
 hether/ the w^{che} the pottecarie brought in a whight paper a
 certyn wyht confection/ vnto therle/ who commaundyd me to
 geve the assay therof to the pottecarie/ and so I did byfore hyme/
 And than I departyd therw^t bryngyng it to my lord byfore whome
 15 I toke also the assay therof And delyuerd the same [f. 84] to my
 lord who receyved the same holy all together at oons/ and
 Imedyally after he had receyved the same/ sewerly he avoydyd
 excedyng myche wynd vppward/ loo q^d he/ nowe ye may se that
 it was but wynd/ but by the means of this recepte/ I ame (I thanke
 20 god) well eased/ And so he rose frome the table and went to hys
 prayers as he accustomedly did after dynner/ And beyng at hys
 prayers there came vppon hyme suche a laske/ that it caused
 hyme to goo to his stoole/ And beyng there therle sent for me/
 And at my Commyng he sayd/ ffor as myche as I haue allwayes
 25 perceyved in you to be a man in whome my lord yo^r m^r hathe
 great affiaunce/ and for my experyence/ knowyng you to be an
 honest man/ (w^t many moo wordes of commendacions than
 nedes here to be reherced)/ sayed it is so that my lord yo^r
 lamentable m^r hathe often desyred me to wright to the kynges
 30 mat^{te} that he myght come vnto his presence to make answeere to
 his accusacions/ And evyn so haue I don/ ffor thys day haue
 I receyved letters frome hys grace/ by sir willam kyngstone

3 and by the way *interl.*

4 by *canc.* after made

6 what] t

written over h

9 that t *canc.* after wynd

10 he *canc.* before

answered

12 wyht *interl.*

15 to *canc.* after same

16 lord

canc. before lord

18 h *canc.* before loo and e after se

19 ame

interl.

24 a single indecipherable letter *canc.* before allwaves

25 of

canc. after man

26 affiaunce] *MS.* affiaunce

27 here to *canc.*

before than

28 be *interl.*

31 so *interl.*

32 kyngstone]

MS. kyngstone

knyght wherby I do perceyve that the kyng hathe in hyme a
 very good oppynyon/ and vppon my often request he hathe sent
 for hyme by the seyd sir w^m kyngston to come vppe to answe
 accordyng to hys owen desier/ who is in his chamber/ wher for
 nowe is the tyme come that my lord hathe often desired to trie 5
 hyme self & his truthe (as I trust) myche to hys hono^r/ And I
 put no doughtes in so doyng that it shall be for hyme the best
 Journey that euer he made/ in all his lyfe/ 'T'herfore nowe I wold
 haue you to play the part of a wyse man/ to breke fyrst this
 matter vnto hyme so wittely & in suche a sort that he myght take 10
 it quyotly in good parte/ for he is euer so full of Sorrowe/ & dolor
 in my company that I feare me he wyll take it in evyll part/ And
 than he dothe not well for I assure you (and so shewe hyme) that
 the kyng is hys good lord And hathe geuyn me the most worthy
 thanks for his entertaenme^t desiryng & commaundyng me so to 15
 contynewe/ not doughtyng but that he wyll right nobly acquyte
 hyme self towards hys heyghnes/ Therfore goo yo^r wayes to
 hyme/ and so perswad w^t hyme that I may fynd hyme in good
 quyot at my comyng for I wyll not tary long after you/ Sir/ q^d
 I/ I shall if it please yo^r [f. 84^v] lordshipe endeavour me to 20
 accomplyshe your commaundeme^t to the best of my power
 but sir I dought oon thyng/ that whan I shall name (sir w^m
 kyngeston) he wyll mystrust that all is not well because he is
 Constable of the tower/ And Capteyn of the Gard hauyng
 xxiiij^{ti} of the gard to attend vppon hyme/ Mary it is treuthe q^d 25
 therle/ what therof thoughe he be constable of the tower/ yet he
 is the most meatest man for his wysdome/ and discession to be
 sent aboutght any suche messwage/ And for the gard it is for
 none other purpose but oonly to defend hyme/ Ayenst all them
 that wold entend hyme any evyll owther in word or deade/ And 30
 also they be all or for the most part suche of hys old seruautes
 (as the kyng toke of late in to hys seruyce) to thentent that they
 shold attend vppon hyme most Iustly and dothe knowe best
 howe to serue hyme/ well sir/ I wyll do what I can/ And so
 departed toward my lord/ And at my repayer/ I found hyme 35
 syttyng at the vpper end of the Gallery vppon a trussyng chest

3 y *canc.* after the 4 for *interl.* 8 nowe *interl.* 12 it *interl.*
 20 s I shall *canc.* before endeavour and th after me 24-25 hauyng
 xxiiij^{ti} of the gard *interl.* 33 attend *interl.* 36 t *canc.* before trussyng

of hys owen/ w^t hys beedes & staffe in his handes/ And espieng
 me commyng frome therle/ he demaundyd of me/ what newes
 nowe/ q^d he/ fforsothe/ sir q^d I/ the best newes that euer came to
 you if yo^r grace can take it well/ I pray god it be what is it/ q^d
 5 he/ ffor sothe/ q^d I/ my lord of Shrewesbury perceyvyng by yo^r
 often commynycacion/ that ye ware allwayes desyrus to come
 byfore the kynges ma^{tie}/ And nowe as yo^r most assured frend
 hathe travelled so w^t his letters vnto the kyng/ that the kyng
 hathe sent for you by m^r kyngeston/ And xxiiiijth of the gard to
 10 conduct you to his highnes/ M^r kyngesston/ q^d he/ rehersyng his
 name oons or twyse/ And w^t that clapped his hand vppon his
 thyghe/ And gave a great sighe/ Sir/ q^d I/ yf yo^r grace cowld or
 wold take all thynges in good parte/ it shold be myche better for
 you/ content yo^r self therfore for goddes sake/ And thynke that
 15 god and yo^r frendes hathe wrought for you accordyng to yo^r
 owen desier/ Dyd ye not allwayes whisshe/ that ye myght cleare
 yo^r self by fore the kynges person/ Nowe that godd & yo^r
 frendes hathe brought yo^r desier to passe/ ye will not take it
 thankfully/ yf ye consider yo^r treuthe and loyaltie vnto our
 20 souerayn lord ayenst the w^{che} yo^r ennemyes cannot prevayle (the
 kyng beyng yo^r good lord as he is) you knowe well that the kyng
 can do no lesse than he dothe/ you beyng to his highnes accused
 of some heynous cryme/ but cause you to be brought to yo^r
 trial/ And there to receyve accordyng to yo^r demerittes the
 25 w^{che} his highenes trustithe and sayth no lesse but that you shall
 prove yo^r self a Iust man to his ma^{tie}/ [f. 85] wherin ye haue
 more cause to reioyse than thus to lament or mystrust his
 fauorable Iustice/ ffor I assure you yo^r ennemyes be more in
 dought & feare of you/ than you of them/ that they whisshe that
 30 thyng (that I trust) they shall neuer be able to bryng to passe w^t
 all ther wyttes the kyng (as I seyde before) beyng yo^r Indifferent
 & syngular good lord & frend/ And to prove that he so is/ se ye
 not howe he hathe sent gentill m^r kyngeston/ for you w^t suche
 men as ware yo^r old treu seruauntes and yet be/ as fferre as it
 35 becommythe them to be/ oonly to attend vppon you for the want

3 sir q^d I] MS. sir I

canc. before hathe

25 heyghes *canc. before* highenesha *canc. before* be5 I *canc. before* I22 to *interl.*; seruaunt33 kyngstos *canc. after* m^r

18 hathe b brought

canc. before accused26 trust *canc. before* Iust

30 be

of yo^r owen seruauntes/ willyng also m^r kyngeston/ to reuerence
 you w^t as myche honour as was dewe to you in yo^r hyghe estate/
 And to convey you by suche easy Iourneyes as ye shall com-
 maund hyme to do/ and that ye shall haue all yo^r desiers &
 commaundeme^{tes}/ by the way/ in euery place to yo^r graces 5
 contentacion and honor/ wherfore sir I humbly beseche yo^r grace/
 to empynt all thes Iust perswasions w^t many other Imynent
 occasions/ in yo^r discession/ and be of good cheare/ I most
 humbly w^t my faythfull hart requyer yo^r grace/ wherw^t ye shall
 pryncypally comfort yo^r self/ & next geve all yo^r frendes & to me 10
 & other of yo^r seruauntes good hope of yo^r good spede/ well well/
 than q^d he/ I perceyve more than ye can Imagyn or do knowe/
 experyence/ of old hathe taught me/ And therw^t he rose vppe
 and went in to his chamber/ to his cloose stoole/ the ffluxe
 trobled hyme so sore/ and when he had don he came owt agayn 15
 and Immedyatly my lord of Shrewsbury came in to the Gallery
 vnto hyme w^t whome my lord mett/ And then they bothe
 sitting down vppon a benche in a great wyndowe/ therle axed
 hyme howe he did/ And he most lamentably (as he was
 accustomed) answered thankyng hyme for his gentill enter- 20
 tainme^t/ Sir/ q^d therle/ if ye remember ye haue often whissed
 in my company to make answere byfore the kyng/ And I as
 desirous to helpe yo^r request/ as you to whishe/ beryng toward
 you my good wyll/ hathe writtyn especyally to the kyng in yo^r
 behalf makyng hyme also pryve of yo^r lamentable sorowe/ that 25
 ye inwardly receyve for his hyghe displeasure/ who acceptyth all
 thynges & yo^r doynges therin as frendes/ [f. 85^v] be accustomed
 to do in suche cases/ wherfore I wold advyse you to pluke vppe
 yo^r hart and be not agast of yo^r ennemyes/ who I assure you
 haue you in more dowght than ye wold thynke/ perceyvyng that 30
 the kyng is fully mynded to haue the heryng of yo^r case byfore
 his owen person/ nowe sir if ye can be of good chere/ I dought
 not but this Iourney w^{che} ye shall take towards his highnes
 shalbe myche to yo^r auaunceme^t and An ouerthrowe of yo^r
 ennemyes/ the kyng hathe sent for you by that worshypfull 35

1 to honour you w^t *canc. before to* 7 other *interl.* 9 a single
indecipherable letter *canc. before grace; grace interl.* 11 well/ *interl.*
 14 sto *canc. before cloose* 24 wyll/ hathe] *MS. wyll hathe* 31 grace
canc. before case 32 person/ nowe] *MS. person nowe*

knyght m^r kyngeston/ And w^t hyme xxiiijth of yo^r old seruauntes/
 w^{che} be nowe of the Gard to defend you ayenst yo^r onknown
 ennemyes to thentent that ye may savely come vnto his ma^{tie}/
 Sir/ q^d my lord/ as I supposse m^r kyngeston is Constable of the
 5 tower/ yea, what of that,/ q^d therle/ I assure you he is oonly
 appoynted by the kyng for oon of yo^r ffrendes & for a discrette
 gentilman/ as most worthy to take vppon hyme the save conduct
 of yo^r person/ for w^tout faylle the kyng fauorethe you myche
 more/ And beryth towards you a specyall secrett fauor ferre
 10 other wyse than ye do take it/ well sir/ q^d my lord/ as god wyll so
 beit/ I ame subiect to fortune And to ffortune I commytt my
 self beyng a trewe man redy to accepte suche ordynance as god
 hathe prouydyd for me/ And ther an end/ sir I pray you where
 is m^r kyngeston/ Mary/ q^d therle/ if ye wyll I woll send for
 15 hyme/ who wold most gladly se you/ I pray you than/ q^d he/ send
 for hyme/ at whos message/ he came Incontynent/ and assone as
 my lord espied hyme commyng in to the gallery he made hast to
 encounter hyme/ M^r kyngeston came towards hyme w^t myche
 reuerence/ at his approche he kneled down and saluted hyme on
 20 the kynges behalf/ whome my lord (bareheded) offred to take
 vppe/ but he still kneled/ Than/ q^d my lord/ m^r kyngeston/ I pray
 you stand vppe/ And leve yo^r knelyng vnto a very wretche/
 replett w^t mysery not worthy to be estemed but for a vile
 abiecte/ vttyrly cast a way w^tout desert/ And therfore good m^r
 25 kyngeston/ stand vppe or I woll my self knele down by you/ w^t
 that m^r kyngeston stod vppe sayeng w^t humble reuerence/ Sir
 the kynges ma^{tie} hathe hyme commendyd vnto you/ I thanke
 his hyghnes/ q^d my lord/ I trust he be in helthe & mery/ the
 w^{che} I beseche god long contynewe/ yea w^tout dought/ q^d m^r
 30 kyngeston/ And sir he hathe [f. 86] commaundyd me/ first to sey
 vnto you that you shold assure yo^r self that he berythe you as
 myche good wyll & fauour as euer he dyd/ And wyllyth you to
 be of good chere/ And where report hathe byn made vnto hyme/
 that ye shold commytt ayenst his Royall ma^{tie} certyn haynous

5 tower *canc. before tower*9 specyall *interl.*

11 a single in-

decipherable letter *canc. before subiect*

14 three indecipherable letters

*canc. before kyngeston*16 hyme/ at] *MS. hyme at*

17 he

espied/ *canc. before my*17-18 to enco *canc. before to; to encounter]**MS. encounter; hyme/ M^r] MS. hyme M^r*22 wredche *canc. before*

wretche

24 abiect *canc. before abiecte*27 you/ I] *MS. you I*

Crymes/ w^{che} he thynkythe to be vntrewe/ yet for the mynys-
 tracion of Iustice in suche casis requysit/ And to avoyd all
 suspecte/ parcyallytie/ can do no lesse/ at the least/ than to send
 for you to yo^r triall/ mystrustyng no thyng yo^r trowthe &
 wysdome but that ye shalbe able to acquyt yo^r self ayenst all 5
 complayntes & accusacions exibytet ayenst you/ And to take
 yo^r Iourney towards hyme at yo^r owen pleasure/ commaundyng
 me to be attendaunt vppon you w^t mynestracion of dewe
 reuerence/ And to se yo^r person preserued frome all damage
 And Inconvenyences that myght ensewe/ and to elect all suche 10
 yo^r old seruauntes (nowe his) to serue you by the way/ who hathe
 most experyence of yo^r diet/ 'Ttherfore sir I besече yo^r grace to
 be of good chere/ And whan it shall be yo^r good pleasure to take
 yo^r Iourney I shall geve myn attendaunce/ M^r kyngeston/ q^d my
 lord/ I thanke you for yo^r good newes/ And sir herof assure yo^r 15
 self/ that if I ware as able and as lustie/ as I haue byn but of late/
 I wold not fayle to ride w^t you in post/ but sir I ame diseased
 w^t a fluxe that makyth me very weke/ But m^r kyngeston/ all thes
 comfortable wordes w^{che} ye haue spoken be but for a purpose to
 bryng me in a fooles paradise/ I knowe what is provydid for me/ 20
 Notw^tstandyng I thanke you for yo^r good will & paynnes taken
 aboutht me/ And I shall w^t all spede/ make me redy to ride w^t
 you to morowe/ And thus they fill in to other commynycacion
 bothe therle and m^r kyngeston/ w^t my lord who commaundyd me
 to forse and provyde that all thynges myght be made redy to 25
 departe/ the morowe after/ I caused all thynges to be thrust vppe
 & made in a redynes as fast as they could convenyently/ whan
 nyght came that we shold goo to bed my lord waxed very syke/
 thoroughe hys newe desease/ the w^{che} caused hyme contynually
 frome tyme to tyme/ to goo to the stolle all that nyght/ In so 30
 myche frome the tyme that his desease toke hyme/ vnto the next
 day he had above l^{ti} stoolles So that he was that day very weke/
 the matter that he avoyded was [f. 86^v] wonderous blake/ the
 w^{che} phisicions call Colour Adustum/ And whan he perceyved

5 all <i>canc. before</i> yo ^r and accusacions <i>before</i> self	8 dewe] d <i>written</i>
over r	14 attendaunce <i>canc. before</i> attendaunce
before byn	16 b <i>canc.</i>
made/ redy	20 bryng] r <i>written over e</i>
26 be <i>canc. before</i> departe	25 made redy] <i>MS.</i>
30 stoole <i>canc. before</i> stolle	27 they] <i>MS. thy</i>
31 the <i>interl. before</i> tyme	34 whan
<i>interl.; perceyved canc. before</i> perceyved	

it he sayd vnto me/ if I haue not/ q^d he/ some helpe shortly yt
 will cost me my lyfe/ w^t that I caused oon doctor Nicholas a
 Phisicion beyng w^t therle to loke vppon the grosse matter that
 he avoyded vppon sight wherof he determyned/ howe he shold
 5 not lyfe past iiij^{or} or .v. dayes/ yet notw^tstandyng he wold haue
 ridden w^t m^r kyngeston that same day if therle of Shrewsbury
 had not byn/ Therfore in consideracion of hys Infirmyte they
 caused hyme to tary all that day/ And the next day he toke his
 Journey w^t m^r kyngeston/ And the Gard/ And as son as they
 10 espied ther old m^r in suche a lamentable estate/ lamented hyme
 w^t wepyng eyes whome my lord toke by the handes And dyuers
 tymes by the way as he rode he wold talke w^t theme some tyme
 w^t oon and some tyme w^t an other/ At nyght he was lodged at
 an howsse of therle of Shrewsbury called hardwyke hall/ very
 15 evyll at ease/ the next day he rode to Nothyngham/ And ther
 lodged that nyght more sykke/ and the next day we rode to
 leicester abbey and by the way he waxed so sykke/ that he was
 dyuers tyme lykly to haue fallen frome his mewle/ And beyng
 nyght or we came to the abbey afore seyde/ where at his commyng
 20 in at the gattes the Abbott of the place w^t all his Covent mett
 hyme w^t the light of many torches whome they right honorably
 receyved w^t great reuerence/ To whome my lord sayde/ ffather
 abbott I ame come hether to leave my bones among you/ whome
 they brought on his mewle to the stayers foote of his chamber/
 25 and there lighted And m^r kyngeston than toke hyme by the
 Arme/ and led hyme vppe the stayers (who told me afterward that
 he neuer Caried so hevy a burden in all his lyfe) And asson as
 he was in his chamber he went incontynent to his bedd very
 sykke/ this was vppon Satorday at nyght/ and there he contynued
 30 sykke & sykke/ vppon Monday in the mornyng as I stode by
 his beddes side/ aboutt viijth of the Clocke/ the wyndowes
 beyng cloose shett/ hauyng waxe lightes burnyng vppon the
 Cupbord/ I behyld hyme As me semed drawyng fast to hys end/
 he perceyved my shadowe vppon the wall [f. 87] by his beddes

7 in consideracion] *MS.* inconsideracion

hyme 12 by *canc. before* by

14 where he lay all nyght *canc. before* very

22 ffather *canc. after* sayd/

27 gathered lyfted lyfted so heuy a
burden *with* lyfted lyfted *interl. canc. before* Caried

MS. Storday

32 be *canc. before* beyng

10 a *interl.*; w^t *canc. before*

13 other/ At] *MS.* other At

16 the *canc. before* the

29 Satorday]

side/ Asked who was there/ Sir I ame here/ q^d I/ howe do you/
q^d he/ to me/ very well sir if I myght se yo^r grace well/ what is it
of the clocke/ q^d he/ to me/ for sothe sir/ q^d I it is past viijth of
the clocke/ in the mornynge/ viijth of the clocke/ q^d he/ that
cannot be rehersyng dyuers tyme/ viijth of the Clocke/ viijth of 5
the Clocke/ Nay/ nay/ q^d he/ at the last/ it cannot be viijth of the
cloke/ ffor by viijth of the Clocke ye shall loose yo^r m^r/ for my
tyme drawyth nere that I must depart owt of this world w^t that
m^r doctor Palmes a worshipfull gentilman beyng his chapleyn/
& gostly father standyng bye bad me secretly demaund of hyme 10
if he wold be shreven/ And to be in a redynes towards god what
so cuer shold chaunce/ at whos desier I asked hyme that question/
what haue you to do/ q^d he/ to aske me any suche question/ And
began to be very angry w^t me/ for my presumpcion vntill at the
last/ M^r Doctor toke my part And talked w^t hyme in latten And 15
so pacyfied hyme/ And after Dynner M^r kyngeston sent for me
in to hys chamber/ And at my beyng there/ Sayd to me/ So it is
that the kyng hathe sent me letters by this gentilman (M^r
Vyncent) oon of yo^r old companyons who hathe byn late in
troble in the tower of london for mony that my lord shold haue 20
at his last departyng frome hyme/ w^{che} nowe cannot be found/
wherfore the kyng at this gentilmans request for the declaracion
of his trewthe/ hathe sent hyme hether w^t his graces letters
dyrected vnto me/ commaundyng me by vertue therof to
examyn my lord in that behalf/ And to haue yo^r counsell herin 25
howe yt may be don that he may take it well & in good part/ this
is the cheafe cause of my sendyng for you/ wherfore I pray you
what is yo^r best Councell to vse in thys matter for the true
acquytall of this gentilman/ Sir q^d I/ as touchyng that matter/
my symple Advice shalbe this/ that ye yo^r owen person shall 30
resort vnto hyme/ and visit hyme/ And in commynycacion
breake the matter vnto hyme/ And if he woll not tell the
treuthe/ ther be that can satysfie the kynges pleasure therin/ And
in any wyse speke no thyng of my ffellowe vyncent/ And I wold
not advyse you to tract the tyme w^t hyme for he is very syke/ I 35

1 Axed *canc.* before Asked
10 to *canc.* before demaund
what 13 to do *interl.*
interl.

7 a single indecipherable letter *canc.* before by
12-13 question/ what] *MS.* question
26 he *canc.* before yt; this *interl.*
28 in
30 s. *canc.* before Advice

feare me he wyll not lyve past to morowe in the mornynge
 [f. 87v] 'Then went m^r kyngeston vnto hyme And asked first
 howe he did And so forth procedyd in Commynycacion/ wherin
 m^r kyngeston demaundyd of hyme the seyd mony/ sayeng that
 5 my lord of Northumberland hathe found a boke at Cawood that
 reportithe howe ye had but late xv^{cl} in redy mony And oon
 penny therof wyll not be found/ who hathe made the kyng privy
 by his letters therof/ wherfore the kyng hathe writtyn vnto me/
 to demaund it of you if ye do knowe where it is become/ ffor it
 10 ware pitie/ that it shold be embeselled frome you bothe/
 therfore I shall requyer you in the kynges name to tell me the
 treuthe herin to thentent that I may make Iust report vnto his
 matie/ what answeere ye make ther in/ w^t that my lord pawsed a
 whyle And sayd/ Ah good lord howe myche dothe it greave me/
 15 that the kyng shold thynke/ in me suche disceyt wherin I shold
 disceyve hyme of any oon penny that I haue/ Rather than I wold
 (m^r kyngeston) embesell or deceyve hyme of a myght I wold it
 ware molt & put in my mouthe/ w^{che} wordes he spake twyse or
 thrice very vehemently/ I haue no thyng ne neuer had (god
 20 beyng my Iuge) that I esteemed or had in it any suche delight or
 pleasure but that I toke it for the kynges goodes hauyng but the
 bare vse of the same duryng my lyfe/ And after my deathe/ to
 leave it to the kyng wherin he hathe but prevented myn entent
 and purpose/ And for this mony that ye demaund of me/ I
 25 assure you it is none of myn for I borrowed it of dyuers of my
 ffrendes to bury me & to bestowe among my seruauntes w^{che}
 hathe taken great paynnes abought me/ lyke trewe and faythfull
 men/ Notw^tstandyng if it be his pleasure to take thys mony
 frome me/ I must hold me therw^t content/ yet I wold most
 30 humbly beseche his matie to se them satysfied of whome I
 borrowed the same/ for the discharge of my concience/ who be
 they/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ 'That shall I shewe you/ I borrowed CCⁱⁱ
 therof of sir Iohn Alyn/ of london/ And CCⁱⁱ of sir Richard
 Gressham/ And CCⁱⁱ of the m^r of Savoye/ And CCⁱⁱ of Doctor
 35 hykden dean of my Colledge in Oxford/ And CCⁱⁱ of the

5 Cawood *canc. before* Cawood7 found/ who] *MS. found who*10 pityee *canc. before* pitie17 of *interl.*18 it *canc. before* molt*and* mouthe *before* mouthe; mouthe/ w^{che}] *MS. mouthe w^{che}*

26 bestowe

canc. before bestowe28 thys] *y written over e*

Treasorer of the Chirche of yorke/ And CC^u of the Dean of
 yorke/ And CC^u of parson Elis my chapleyn [f. 88] And an C^u
 of my Steward (whos name I haue fforgotten) trustyng that the
 kyng wyll restore theme agayn ther mony for it is none of myn/
 Sir/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ there is no dought in the kyng (ye nede not 5
 to mystrust that) but whan the kyng shalbe aduertised therof
 (to whome I shall make report of yo^r request) that his grace wold
 do as shall become hyme/ but sir I pray you where is this mony/
 M^r kyngeston/ q^d he/ I will not conceyll it frome the kyng/ I wold
 declare it to you or I dyc/ by the grace of god/ take a littill 10
 pacience w^t me I pray you// well sir than I wold troble you no
 more at this tyme trustyng that ye wyll shewe me to morowe/
 yea that I wyll m^r kyngeston/ for the mony is save a noughe/ And
 in an honest mans kepyng/ who wyll not kepe oon Penny frome
 the kyng/ and than m^r kyngeston went to his Soper/ howbeit my 15
 lord wexid very syke most lyklyest to dyc that nyght/ And often
 Swowned/ And as me thought drewe toward fast hys end vntill
 it was iiij^{or} of the Clocke in the mornyng/ At w^{che} tyme I Asked
 hyme howe he dyd/ well/ q^d he/ if I had any meate I pray you
 geve me some/ Sir ther is none redy/ I wys ye be the more to 20
 blame/ ffor you shold haue allwayes some meate for me in a
 redynes to eate whan my stomake seruyth me/ Therfore I pray
 you gett me some/ for I entend thys day (god willyng) to make
 me strong to thentent I may occupie my self in Confession and
 make me redy to god/ Then sir q^d I/ I wyll call vppe the Cookes 25
 to provyd some meate for you/ And wold also if it be yo^r
 pleasure call for m^r Palmes that ye may Comen w^t hyme vntill
 yo^r meate be redy/ w^t a good wyll/ q^d he/ And ther w^t I went
 first and called vppe the Cooke/ commaundying hyme to
 prepare some meate for my lord And than I went to m^r Palmes 30
 and told hyme what case my lord was in/ wylling hyme to rise
 and to resort to hyme w^t spede/ And than I went to m^r kyngeston
 and gave hyme warnyng that as I thought he wold not lyve/
 Aduertysyng hyme that if he had any thyng to say to hyme that

5 m^r kyngeston/] MS. m^r/ kyngeston; nede interl. 7 but *canc. before*
 that 8-9 mony/ M^r] MS. mony M^r 13 kyngeston/] / *written*
 over) 15 kyng/ and] MS. kyng and 20 ye *canc. before* I
 22 d *canc. before* redynes 27 k *canc. before* Palmes 30 than
canc. before than 33 he *interl.*; lyfe *canc. before* lyve

he shold make haste for he was in great daynger/ In good
 fayth/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ ye be to blame for ye make hyme
 beleve that he is sykkyr and in more daynger [f. 88^v] then he is/
 Well sir q^d I/ ye shall not say an other day but that I gave you
 5 warnyng as I am bound to do/ in discharge of my dewtie/
 Therefore I pray you what so euer shall chaunce lett no necli-
 gence/ be ascribed to me herin/ for I assure you his lyfe is very
 short/ do therfore nowe as ye thynke best// Yet neuerthelesse
 he arose & made hyme redy and came to hyme after he had eaten
 10 of a Colas made of a chykken a sponefull or too/ At the last q^d
 he/ wherof was this Colas made/ forsothe sir/ q^d I/ of a Chikkyn/
 wye/ q^d he/ it is fastyng day and saynt Androwes Eve/ what
 thoughe sir q^d Doctor Palmes/ ye be excused by reason of yo^r
 syknes/ yea/ q^d he/ what thoughe I wyll eate no more/ than was
 15 he in confession the space of an hower// And whan he had
 endyd his confession m^r kyngeston bade hyme god morowe (for
 it was abought vij^{en} of the clocke in the mornyng) And Asked
 hyme howe he did/ Sir/ q^d he/ I tary but the wyll & pleasure of
 god/ to render vnto hyme my symple sowlle in to hys dyvyn
 20 handes/ Not yet so sir/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ w^t the grace of god ye
 shall lyve & do very well if ye wyll be of good cheare/ M^r
 kyngeston my desease is suche that I cannot lyve/ I haue had
 some experyence in my desease/ And thus it is/ I haue a ffluxe
 w^t a contynuall ffevour/ the nature wherof is this/ that if there
 25 be no alteracion w^t me of the same w^t in viijth dayes than must
 owther ensue excorriacion of the In traylles/ or ffrancye/ or elles
 present deathe/ And the best therof is deathe/ And as I suppose
 this is the viijth day And if ye se in me no alteracion/ than is there
 no remedye (allthoughe I may lyve a day or twayn)/ but deathe
 30 w^{che} is the best remedy of the three// Nay sir in good fayth q^d
 m^r kyngeston/ ye be in suche dolor & pensyvenes doughtyng
 that thyng that in deade ye nede not to feare/ w^{che} makyth you
 myche wors than ye shold be/// well, well, M^r kyngeston/ q^d
 he/ I se the matter ayenst me howe it is framed/ But if I had
 35 serued god as dyligently as I haue don the kyng he wold not

3 bele *canc.* before beleve; in *interl.*

4 gave *canc.* before gave

14 syknes/ yea] *MS.* syknes yea

16 bad *canc.* before bade

19 sowlle]

le written over &

20 kyngeston *canc.* before kyngeston

26 ex *canc.*

after owther

30-31 q^d m^r kyngeston/ *interl.*; ye *canc.* before in

haue geuyn me ouer in my gray heares/ howbeit thys is the Iust
 reward that I must Receyve for my worldly dyligence & paynnes
 that I haue had to do hyme seruyce/ oonly to satysfie his vayn
 pleasures/ not regardyng my godly dewtye [f. 89] wherfore I pray
 you w^t all my hart to haue me most humbly commendyd vnto 5
 his Royall ma^{tie} besechyng hyme in my behalfe to call to hys most
 gracious remembraunce All matters procedyng bytween hyme
 & me/ frome the begynnyng of the world vnto thys day/ and the
 progresse of the same/ And most cheafely in the waytie matter/
 yet dependyng/ (meanynge the matter newly begon bytween hyme 10
 & good quen katheryn) than shall his concyence declare
 whether I haue offendyd hyme or no/ he is suer a prynce of a
 Royall Corage/ And hathe a pryncely hart/ And rather than he
 wyll owther mysse or want any parte of hys wyll or apetite/ he
 wyll put the losse of oon half of hys realme in daynger/ ffor I 15
 assure you/ I haue often kneled byfore hyme in his pryue
 chamber on my knes the space of an hower or too/ to perswade
 hyme frome hys wyll & apetide/ but I cowlde neuer bryng to
 passe to diswade hyme therfroo/ Therfore m^r kyngeston/ if it
 chaunce hereafter you to be oon of hys pryue counsell (as for 20
 yo^r wysdom & other qualites ye be mete so to be) I warne you
 to be well advysed & assured what matter ye put in his hed/ ffor
 ye shall neuer pull it owt agayn/ And sey furthermore that I
 requyer his grace (in goddes name) that he haue a vigilant eye/
 to depresse this newe peruers sekte of the lutarnaunce that it do 25
 not encrease w^tin his domynyons thoroughe hys necligence/ in
 suche a sort as that he shalbe fayn at lengthe to put harnoys
 vppon hys bake to subdewe them As the kyng of Beame did/
 who had good game to se his rewde Commyns (than enfected
 w^t wycklyfes heresies) to spoyell and murder the sperytuall men 30
 & Religious persons of hys Realme/ the w^{che} fled to the kyng &
 his nobles for socours ayenst ther frantike rage/ of whome they
 could gett no helpe of defence/ or refuge/ but laughed theme to

2 receyve *canc. before* Receyve; worldly (MS. wordly) *interl.* 3 do *interl.*
 4 dewte to *canc. before* godly 5 me *interl.* 11 the *canc. before*
 good 13 a single indecipherable letter *canc. between the o and r of*
 Corage 16 privy *canc. before* pryue 19 diswade *canc. before*
 diswade 22 ye pu *canc. before* in 25 to *interl.*; lutarnaunce]
first n written over y 29 rewde *interl.* 32 ther *canc. before*
 ther; ther *interl.*

scorne hauyng good game at ther spoyle & consumpcion not
 regarding ther dewties nor ther owen defence/ And whan thes
 erronyous heretykes had subdued all the clargy and sperytuall
 persons takyng the spoyell of ther riches/ bothe of [f. 89^v]
 5 chirches/ monastorys/ And all other sperytuall thynges hauyng
 no more to spoyle caught suche a Corage of ther former libertie/
 that/ than they disdayned ther prynce and souerayn lord/ w^t all
 other noble personages And the hed gouerners of the Contrie/
 And began to fall in hand w^t the temporall lordes to slee &
 10 spoyle theme w^tout pitie or mercye most cruelly/ In so myche
 that the kyng and other hys nobles ware constrayned to put
 harnoyes vppon ther bakkes to resist the ongodly powers of thes
 traterous heretykes And to defend ther lyves & liberties/ who
 pitched a feld Royall ayenst theme/ in w^{che} fyld thes traytors so
 15 stowtly encounterd/ that the parte of theme ware so cruell &
 vehement/ that in fyne they ware victors/ and slewe the kyng/
 the lordes & all the gentilmen of the Realme/ leavyng not oon
 person that bare the name or port of a gentilman a lyve/ or of
 any person that had any Rewle or auctorytie in the Comen wele/
 20 by means of w^{che} slaughter they haue lyved euer synce in great
 mysery & pouertie/ w^t out an hed or gouernor but lyved all in
 Comen lyke wyld bestes/ abhorred of all Cristyan nacions/ lett
 this be to hyme an evydent example to avoyd the lyke daynger
 I pray you good m^r kyngeston/ Ther is no trust in rowttes
 25 or onlawfull Assembles of the comen pepolle ffor whan the
 ryotouse multytud be assembled there is among theme no mercy
 or consideracion of ther bounden dewtie/ As in the history of
 kyng Rycherd the second/ oon of hys noble progenytors w^{che} in
 that same tyme of wykclyffes sedicious oppynyons/ dyd not the
 30 Comens/ I pray you/ rise ayenst the kyng & nobles of the
 Realme of Englund/ wherof some they apprehendyd whome they
 w^tout mercye or Iustice put to deathe/ And did they not fall to
 spoylyng & Robbery to thentent they myght bryng all thyng in
 comen/ And at the last w^tout discession or reuerence/ spared

9 lordes *canc. before* temporall 14 stoutly *canc. before* Royall; Royall
interl.; w^{che} fyld] MS. w^{che} / fyld; so *interl* 19 Comen] MS. Coen
 21 out *interl.* 22 bestes *canc. before* wyld 25 r *canc. after* whan
 the 26 multytud *interl.*; hedes *canc. before* be 27 consideracion]
 MS. consideracion 28 Rycherd] R *written over* I 29 r *canc.*
after the

not in ther rage to take the kynges most Royall person owte of the
 tower of london/ and Caried hyme about the Citie most
 presumptuously/ causyng hyme (for the preseruacion of hys lyfe)
 to be aggreable to ther lewd proclamacions/// Dyd not also that
 trayterouse herityke/ sir Iohn OldCastell pytche a feld ayenst 5
 kyng herry the .vth ayenst whome the kyng was constrained to
 encontre in his Royall [f. 90] person/ to whome god gave the
 victory/// Alas m^r kyngeston/ if thes be not playn presedentes
 and sufficyent perswasions to admonysshe a prynce to be
 circumspect ayenst the semblable myschefe/ and if he be neclly- 10
 gent/ than wyll god stryke and take frome hyme his power/ and
 dymynysshe his regally/ takyng frome hyme his prudent
 counsellours and valyaunt capteyns/ and leave vs in our owen
 handes w^t out hys helpe & ayed/ And than wyll ensewe mys-
 chefe vppon myschefe/ Inconuenyence vppon Inconuenyence/ 15
 barynes & skarcyte of all thynges/ for lake of good order in the
 comen welthe to the vtter distruccion & desolacion of this noble
 Realme/ ffrome w^{che} myschefes god for hys tender mercy defend
 vs/ Mayster kyngeston farewell I canno more but whyshe all
 thyng to haue good successe/ my tyme drawyth on fast I may 20
 not tary w^t you/ And forgett not (I pray you) what I haue seyde
 & charged you w^tall ffor whan I ame deade/ ye shall parauenture
 remember my wordes myche better// And evyn w^t thes wordes
 he began to drawe his speche at lengthe/ And his tong to fayle/
 his eyes beyng sett in his hed whos sight faylled hyme/ than we 25
 began to put hyme in remembraunce of Cristes passion and sent
 for the Abbot of the place to annele hyme/ who came w^t all
 spede/ and mynestred vnto hyme all the seruyce to the same
 belongyng/ And caused also the gard to stand by bothe to here
 hyme talke byfore his deathe & also to be wytnes of the same/ 30
 And incontynent the Clocke strake viijth/ at w^{che} tyme he gave
 vppe the gost & thus departed he this present lyfe/ And callyng
 to our remembraunce his wordes the day byfore howe he sayd

1 to *canc. before in*; most *interl.*

4 the *canc. before that*; that *interl.*

7 hyme *canc. before in*

vpon/ *canc. before myschefe vppon*

25 be *canc. before eyes*

interl.

33 byfore *canc. before byfore*

2 presumptio *canc. before most*

6 constrained] *MS. constrained*

12 as *canc. before takyng*

14-15 myschefe

24 leg *canc. before lengthe*

30 his dethe *canc. before the*; the same

interl.

32 he *interl.*

that at viijth of the Cloke we shold lose our mayster/ oon of vs
 lokyng vppon an other/ supposyng that he proficied of hys
 departure/ **Here is thend** and ffall of pryde and Arrogauncye
 of suche men exalted by ffortune to honour & highe dygnytes/
 5 ffor I assure you in hys tyme of auctoryte & glory/ he was the
 haultest man in all his procedynges that than lyved/ hauyng
 more respect to the worldly honor of hys person/ than he had to
 his sperytuall profession/ wherin shold be all meknes, hymylitie,
 & charitie/ the processe wherof I leave to theme that be learned
 10 & seen in the dyvyn lawes/// [f. 90^v]

After that he was departyd/ m^r kyngeston sent an empost to the
 kyng to Aduertise hyme of the deathe of the late Cardynall of
 yorke/ by oon of the Gard that bothe sawe & hard hyme talke
 & die/ And than M^r kyngeston callyng me/ vnto hyme & to
 15 thabbott went to consultacion for the order of hys buriall/ After
 dyuers commynycacions it was thought good that he shuld be
 buried the next day followyng for m^r kyngeston wold not tarie
 the retourne/ of thempost/ And it was fether thought good that
 the mayor of leycester and hys bretherne shold be sent for to se
 20 hyme personally deade/ in Avoydyng of ffalce Rumors that
 myght hape to sey that he was not deade/ but still lyvyng/ than
 was the mayor and hys bretherne sent for And in the mean
 tyme/ the body was taken owt of the bed where he lay deade/
 who had vppon hyme next his body a shirt of heare besydes his
 25 other shirt w^{che} was of very fynne lynnyn holond clothe/ this
 shirt of heare was onknowen to all hys seruantes beyng con-
 tynually attendyng vppon hyme in his bedd chamber except to
 his chapleyn w^{che} was his gostly father/ wherin he was buried
 and layed in a Coffen of bordes/ hauyng vppon his dead Corps
 30 all suche vestures & ornamentes as he was professed in whan he
 was consecrated bysshope & Archebysshope/ As myter crosseer
 ryng & palle w^t all other thynges appurtenaunt to his profession/
 And lyeng thus all day in his Coffen opyn and bare faced that all
 men myght se hyme lye there deade/ w^tout ffaynyng/ than whan

2 proceded *canc.* before proficied; proficied *interl.* 3 yet *canc.* after
 departure/ 4 suche *interl.* 7 worldly] *MS.* wordly; honor
interl. 8 shold *interl.* 13 hyme *interl.* 16 bury
canc. before be 18 it was *interl.* 21 lyvyng/ than] *MS.* lyvyng
 than 24 here *canc.* before heare 27 bedd *interl.* 33 that
 the *canc.* before that

the mayor, hys bretherne & all other had sen hyme lyeng thus
vntill iiij^{or} or .v. of the cloke/ at nyght he was caried so down in
to the chyrche/ w^t great solempnyte/ by the Abbott & Couent w^t
many torches lyght syngyng suche seruyce as is dewe for suche
ffuneralles/ And beyng in the churche the Corps was sett in our 5
lady chappell w^t many dyuers tapers of waxe burnyng abought
the hearsse/ And dyuers poore men syttyng abought the same
holdyng of Torchcs lyght in ther handes who watched abought
the dead body all nyght wyllest the Chanons sang dirige/ and
other devout Orisons/ And abought iiij^{or} of the cloke in the 10
mornyng they sang masse and that don and the body entired
M^r kyngeston w^t vs beyng his seruauntes ware present at hys
seyd ffuneralles and offered at hys masse/ And be that tyme that
all thynges was fynysshed and all Ceremonyes that to suche a
person was decent & conuenient it was abought vj of the cloke/ 15
in the mornyng/ Then prepared we to [f. 91] horsebake/ beyng
seynt Androwes day thappostell And so toke our Iourney
towardses the Court beyng at hampton Court where the kyng
than lay And after we came thether w^{che} was vppon seynt
Nicholas Eve we gave attendaunce vppon the Counsell for our 20
depeche/ vppon the morowe I was sent for by the kyng to come
to hys grace/ And beyng in m^r kyngestons chamber in the Court
had knowlege therof And repayryng to the kyng I found hyme
shotyng at the Rownds in the parke on the baksyde of the
garden/ And perceyvyng hyme occupied in shotyng/ thought it 25
not my dewtie/ to troble hyme/ but leaned to a tree entendyng
to stand there and to attend hys gracious pleasure/ beyng in a
great study/ At the last the kyng came sodynly behynd me
where I stode/ And clappt his hand vppon my sholder/ And
whan I perceyved hyme I fyll vppon my knee/ to whome he 30
sayd/ callyng mee by my name/ I woll/ q^d he/ make an end of
my game/ And than woll I talke w^t you/ And so departed to his
marke whereat the game was endyd/ than the kyng delyuerd hys
bowe to the yoman of hys bowes And went his way in ward to
the place/ whome I folowed/ howbeit he called for sir Iohn 35

7 hersse <i>canc. before</i> hearsse	9 chana.s <i>canc. before</i> Chanons	11 m ^r
<i>canc. after</i> don	12 and <i>canc. before</i> w ^t	19 was <i>interl.</i>
<i>canc. before</i> morowe	25 shotyng <i>canc. before</i> shotyng	33 endyd/

than] MS. endyd than

Gagge w^t whome he talked vntill he came at the garden posterne
 gate/ And there entred the gate beyng shett after hyme w^{che}
 caused me to goo my wayes/ And beyng goon but a lyttyll
 distance/ the gate was opened agayn/ And there sir harry Norres
 5 called me agayn commaundyng me to come in to the kyng who
 stode behynd the doore in a nyght gown of Russett velvett
 furred w^t Sabelles/ byfore whome I kneled down beyng w^t hyme
 there all alon the space of an hower & more dewryng w^{che} tyme
 he examyned me of dyuers waytty matters concernyng my
 10 lord/ whysshyng that leuer than xx M^l ¹¹ he had lyved/ than he
 asked me for the xv ^{cl} (w^{che} m^r kyngeston moved to my lord
 byfore his deathe) Sir sayd I I thynke that I can tell yo^r grace
 partely where it is/ yea can q^d the kyng than I pray you tell me
 and you shall do vs myche pleasure/ nor it shall not be on-
 15 rewardyd/ Sir sayd I if it please yo^r highnes/ After the departure
 of Davyd Vyncent frome my lord at Scrobye who had than the
 custody therof/ leavyng the same w^t my lord in dyuers bagges
 sealed w^t my lordes seale/ delyuerd the same mony in the same
 bagges sealed vnto a certyn prest (whome I named to the kyng)
 20 savelly to kepe to his vse/ ys thys trewe/ q^d the kyng/ yea sir q^d
 I w^tout all dought/ [f. 91^v] the prest shall not be able to denye it
 in my presence/ ffor I was at the delyuere therof/ well than/ q^d
 the kyng/ lett me alone kepe thys gere secrett bytween yo^r self
 and me/ And lett no man be privitye therof/ ffor if I heare any
 25 more of it/ than I knowe by whome it is come to knowlege/ iij^{re}
 may/ q^d he/ kepe counsell if ij be away/ And if I thought that
 my cappe knewe my counsell/ I wold cast it in to the fier and
 burne it/ And for yo^r trewth & honestie/ ye shall be oon of our
 seruantes/ and in that same rome w^t vs that ye ware w^t yo^r old
 30 m^r/ therfore goo to sir Iohn Gage/ our vice chamberlayn/ to
 whome I haue spoken alreedy to geve you yo^r othe & to admytt
 you our seruaut in the same Rome/ And than goo to my lord
 of Norffolk and he shall pay you/ all yo^r hole yeres wages w^{che} is
 x^{li}/ is it not so q^d the kyng/ yes forsothe/ sir q^d I/ And I ame

3 caused] c written over t

4 gate interl.

7 Sabelles *canc.*before Sabelles and s before byfore; I *canc.* after whome8 w^t *canc.*before the 9 of *canc.* before of10 superscript ¹¹ *canc.* after xx14 vs *canc.* before vs; vs interl.15 if *canc.* before sayd20 Ys *canc.*

after vse/

26 thought interl.; knewe *canc.* before that

32 you interl.

34 so interl.

behynd therof for iij^{re} quart^s of a yere/ that is trewe/ q^d the
 kyng/ for so we be enformed therfore ye shall haue yo^r hole yeres
 wages w^t oure reward delyuerd you by the Duke of Norfolk/
 the kyng also promysed me ferthermore to be my syngular good
 & gracious lord whan so euer occasion shold serue/ And thus I 5
 departed frome hyme And as I went I mett w^t m^r kyngeston
 commyng frome the counsell who commaundyd me in ther
 names/ to goo strait vnto theme for whome they haue sent for
 by hyme/ And in any wyse/ q^d he/ for goddes sake/ take good
 hede what ye say/ ffor ye shall be examyned/ of suche certyn 10
 wordes as my lord yo^r late m^r hade at hys departure/ And if you
 tell theme the treuthe/ q^d he/ what he sayd you shold vndo yo^r
 self for in any wyse they wold not here of hyt/ therfore be
 circumspect what answere ye make/ to ther demaund/ why sir/
 q^d I/ howe have ye don/ therin yo^r self/ Mary q^d he I haue 15
 vtterly denyed that euer I hard any suche wordes/ and he that
 opened the matter first/ is fled for feare w^{che} was the yoman of
 the gard that rode empost to the kyng frome leicester/ therfore
 goo yo^r wayes/ god send you good spede/ And whan ye haue don
 come to me in to the Chamber of presence where I shall tary 20
 yo^r commyng to se howe you spede/ And to knowe howe ye
 haue don w^t the kyng/ Thus I departed and went dyrectly to
 the counsell chamber doore/ and as sone as I was come I was
 called in among them/ And beyng there/ My lord of Norffolk
 spake to me first and bad me welcome to the Court/ And sayd 25
 my [f. 92] lordes thys gentilman hathe bothe Iustly And payn-
 fully serued the Cardynall hys m^r lyke an honest & diligent
 seruaunt/ therfore I dought not but of suche questyons as ye shall
 demaund of hyme/ he wyll make Iust report/ I dare vndertake
 the same for hyme/ howe say ye/ it is reported that yo^r m^r spake 30
 certyn wordes evyn byfore his departure owt of thys lyfe/ the
 truthe wherof I dought not ye knowe/ And as ye knowe I pray
 you report & feare not for no man/ ye shall not nede to swere

1 / yere *canc.* after a 8-9 for *interl.* before by 11 I *canc.* before
 you 11-12 you tell *interl.* 12 told *canc.* before theme; I *canc.*
before you; you *interl.*; my *canc.* before yo^r; yo^r *interl.* 13 wold not
interl. 15 haue ye *canc.* before have 18 leicester/ therfore]
MS. leicester therfore 19 whan *interl.* 26 my lordes] *MS.*
 my/ lordes; ar *canc.* before And 30 hyme/ howe] *MS.* hyme howe;
 reported *canc.* before spake 33 to *interl.*

hyme/ therfore goo to howe saye you/ is it trewe that is reported/
 ffor sothe sir I was so diligent attendyng more to the preseruacion
 of his lyfe/ than I was to note & marke euery word that he spake/
 And sir in deade he spake many Idell wordes as men in suche
 5 extremes/ the w^{che} I cannot nowe remember/ yf it please yo^r
 lordshypes to call byfore you m^r kyngeston he wyll not fayle to
 shewe you the truthe/ Mary so haue we don alredy/ q^d they/
 who hathe byn here presently byfore vs/ And hathe denyed
 vtterly that euer he hard any suche wordes spoken by yo^r m^r/ at
 10 the tyme of hys deathe or at any tyme byfore/ fforsothe my
 lordes/ q^d I// than I can say no more for if he hard them not I
 cowlde not heare theme/ for he hard as myche as I/ and I as
 myche as he/ therfore my lordes it ware myche foly for me to
 declare any thyng of ontrouthe w^{che} I ame not able to Iustefie/
 15 loo/ q^d my lord of Norfolk I told you as myche byfore/ therfore
 goo yo^r wayes/ q^d he/ to me/ you are dismyst/ And come agayn
 to my chamber anon for I must nedes talke w^t you/ I most humbly
 thanked theme & so departed/ And went in to the Chamber of
 presence/ to mete w^t m^r kyngeston/ whome I found standyng in
 20 Comynycacion w^t an auntyent gentillman vssher of the kynges
 privy chamber called m^r Ratclyfe/ And at my Commyng M^r
 kyngeston demaundyd of me if I had byn w^t the Councell and
 what answere I made theme/ I sayd agayn that I had satisfied
 them sufficyently w^t my answere/ And told hyme the maner of
 25 it And than he asked me howe I sped w^t the kyng/ I told hyme
 partely of our commynycacion/ And of hys graces benyvolence/
 and pryncely lyberaltie/ and howe he commaundyd me to goo
 to my lord of Norfolk/ As we ware spekyng of [f. 92^v] hyme/ he
 came frome the Councell in to the chamber of presence/ asson
 30 as he aspied me he came in to the wyndowe where I stode/ w^t
 m^r kyngeston and m^r Ratclyfe to whome I declared the kynges
 pleasure/ thes ij gentilmen desired hyme to be my good lord/
 Nay q^d he/ I will be better vnto hyme than ye wene for if I could
 haue spoken w^t hyme byfore he came to the kyng I wold haue

1 hyme/ therfore] *MS.* hyme therfore

3 mak. *canc.* before marke

7 we *interl.*

8 vse *canc.* after byfore

12 theme *canc.* after

heare

16 you are] *MS.* yo^r are

17 y *canc.* before w^t; you/ 1]

MS. you I

21 Ratclyfe *canc.* before Ratclyfe

24 w^t *canc.*

after them

27 he *interl.*

29 to *interl.*; counsell the *canc.* before

chamber

32 to *canc.* before my

had hyme to my seruyce/ (the kyng excepted) he shold haue
 don no man seruyce in all Englund but oonly me/ And loke what
 I may do for you/ I woll do it w^t a right good wyll/ Sir than/ q^d
 I/ woll it please yo^r grace to move the kynges mat^{tie} in my behalfe
 to geve me oon of the Cartes & horsys that brought vppe my 5
 stuffe w^t my lordes we^{che} is now in the tower to carie it in to my
 Contrie/ yea marie wyll I/ q^d he/ and retourned agayn to the kyng
 for whome I taried still w^t m^r kyngeston/ And m^r Ratclyfe/ who
 sayd that he wold go in and helpe my lord in my sewte/ w^t the
 kyng/ And incontynent my lord came forthe and shewed me 10
 howe the kyng was my good & gracious lord// And hathe gevyn
 me vj of the best horsse that I can chose amongst all my lordes
 Cart horsse w^t a Cart to Carye my stuffe/ And .v. markes for
 my Costes homwardes/ And hathe commaundyd me/ q^d he/ to
 delyuer you X^{li} for yo^r wages beyng behynd on payed And xx^{li} 15
 for a reward/ who commaundyd to call for m^r Secretorye to make
 a warraunt for all thes thynges/ than was it told hyme/ that m^r
 Secretory was gon to hanworthe for that nyght/ than com-
 maundyd he oon of the messengers of the chamber to ride vnto
 hyme in all hast for thes warrauntes and wyllled me to mete w^t 20
 hyme the next day at london And there to receyve bothe my
 mony my stuffe & horsse/ that the kynge gave me/ And so I
 dyd/ of whome I receyved all thynges accordyng/ And than I
 retourned in to my Contrie And thus endyd the lyfe of my late
 lord & m^r/ the Riche & tryumphant legat and Cardynall of 25
 Englund/ on whos sowle Iesu haue mercy Amen/

ffinis Q^d. G. C.

[f. 93] **Who lyste** to Rede And consider w^t an Indyfferent
 eye this history may behold the wonderouse mutabilitie/ of
 vayn honours/ the bryttell Assuraunce of haboundaunce/ the 30
 oncertyntie of dignytes the fflatteryng of fayned frendes/ And the
 tykkyll trust to worldly prynces/ wherof thys lord Cardynall

3 wyll/ Sir] MS. wyll Sir	7 the <i>canc.</i> before the	9 my
<i>canc.</i> after helpe	11 . . lord <i>canc.</i> before &	13 Ad <i>canc.</i> before
And; And <i>interl.</i>	14 my <i>interl.</i> and <i>canc.</i> before my; my <i>interl.</i> ; ye my	
with my <i>interl.</i> <i>canc.</i> after my	17 Secretory <i>canc.</i> before warraunt;	
then <i>canc.</i> before hyme	20 ha <i>canc.</i> before all; all <i>canc.</i> before wyllled	
22 & <i>canc.</i> after mony; my <i>interl.</i>	24 late <i>interl.</i>	25 legat <i>interl.</i> ;
& legat <i>canc.</i> before of		

hathe felt bothe of the swette & the sower in eche degrees/ As
 fletyng frome honors/ losyng of Riches/ deposed frome Dignytes/
 fforsaken of ffrendes// And the inconstantnes of prynces fauour/
 Of all w^{che} thynges he hathe had in this world the full felycyte as
 5 long as that ffortune smyled vppon hyme/ but whan she began
 to frown howe sone was he depryved of all thes dremyng Ioyes
 And vayn pleasures/ the w^{che} in XX^{ti} yeres w^t great travell,
 study, and paynnes opteyned/ ware in oon yere and lesse (w^t
 hevynes, care, & sorowe) lost and consumed/ O madnes/ O
 10 folyshe desier/ O fond hope/ O gredy desier of vayn honors,
 dignyties, and Ryches/ O what inconstant trust And assuraunce
 is in Rollyng ffortune/ wherfore the prophett sayd full well/
 Tezaurisat et ignorat cui congregabit ea/ who is certyn to whome
 he shall leave his treasure & riches that he hathe gathered
 15 together in this world it may chaunce hyme to leave it vnto suche
 as he hathe purposed/ But The wyse man saythe/ that an other
 person who paraenture he hated in his lyfe shall spend it owt
 & consume it/

13 to whome *interl.*
 hyme to leave it *interl.*

14 that *canc. before* he shall

15 it may chaunce

or other wyse *canc. before* / But; But *interl.*

16 by his *canc. after* purposed; testament

17 t *canc. before* his

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HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

3/16–17 **not geving**: not give.

4/13 **than to quenche**: than have quenched.

4/18 **or of affection**: or out of affection (for Wolsey). Cavendish emphasizes the lack of prejudice that is to characterize his narrative.

4/29 **an honest . . . Ipsewiche**: Wolsey's early years are summarized by Pollard (pp. 11–13), who suggests 'the latter part of 1472 or early in 1473' as the most probable date for his birth. Cavendish's own account of Wolsey's Maundy (below, 133/11 ff) in 1530, when he washed the feet of 'fifty-nine poor men', is best interpreted, as Pollard shows, so as to give the above dates. The will of Wolsey's father (Singer, pp. 502–3) was proved on 15 October 1496. As Skelton and other detractors of the cardinal liked to point out, he was in fact a butcher 'and apparently of some truculence' (Mackie, p. 287, n. 1). On the other hand, Cavendish's 'honest poore man' is supported by the fact that he was also a churchwarden.

5/1–2 **bachelor . . . age**: If Wolsey proceeded B.A. in 1487–8, it becomes difficult to account for the next few years of his life. He was ordained on 10 March 1498 and, at some time prior to that date, had been elected fellow and had received his M.A. In 1499 he was Senior Bursar at Magdalen and also Master of Magdalen College School. The university and college records, as Pollard (p. 12, n. 2) points out, do not give us any insight into his activities during the early nineties.

5/4 **learnynge, was made**: A typical instance of Cavendish's habit of omitting subject pronouns when the context is clear enough to avoid confusion. Here, supply 'he' (Wolsey) before 'was'.

5/6 **the lord Marques Dorsett**: Thomas Grey, first Marquis (1451–1501). By his second wife Cicely, whom he had married before 23 April 1475, he had seven sons and eight daughters. His two eldest sons died young and the third, Thomas (1477–1530) succeeded to the title at his father's death (below, 6/22) on 20 September 1501. If the second Marquis was one of Wolsey's pupils 'At scole', this would presumably mean that Wolsey was instructing there as early as 1490.

5/9–10 **Ayenst . . . season**: This was apparently Christmas, 1499. Wolsey was instituted at Limington, near Ilchester in Somerset (the diocese of Bath and Wells) on 10 October 1500 (Fiddes, p. 5).

5/18 **Ordynarie**: 'One who has, of his own right and not by special deputation, immediate jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases, as the archbishop in a province, or the bishop or bishop's deputy in a diocese' (*O.E.D.*).

5/22-3 **sir Amys Pawlett**: Sir Amias Paulet or Poulet (d. 1538). Tradition has it that Wolsey was disciplined 'for disorderly conduct at a fair where he had drunk to excess' (Singer, p. 68), but the story seems to go back no further than to Sir John Harington. Paulet became Treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1521. We do not know precisely when Wolsey restricted him to the Temple, but he was free again in 1524. Cavendish's '.v. or vj yerres' would place the beginning of his confinement in 1518-19.

5/25-6 **to sett . . . feete**: i.e. to put him in the stocks. The *O.E.D.* does not record the phrase 'to set by the feet'.

6/32 **sir Iohn Nanfant**: As Singer (p. 70, n. 6) noted, Cavendish seems to have confused Sir Richard Nanfan with his father, Sir John. Sir Richard (d. 1507), who must be intended here, was the son of Sir John Nanfan, who had been Sheriff of Cornwall in 1451 and 1457. He received his 'great rome' (Deputy of Calais) sometime after 1488. Wolsey's chaplaincy with him probably dates from about 1503, for it was not long thereafter that Sir Richard returned to England, retiring to Birtsmorton, Worcestershire. A natural son, John, presumably named after Sir Richard's father, inherited his estates. Nanfan seems to have recommended Wolsey to Henry VII at his death in 1507 (Pollard, p. 13). Cavendish does not mention Wolsey's service as chaplain to Archbishop Deane, a position which he held from 1501 until the bishop's death on 15 February 1502/3.

7/14 **Doctor ffoxe**: Richard Foxe (1448?-1528). His patronage of Wolsey is amply attested (Pollard, pp. 14-16). As Bishop of Winchester, he would have been visitor of Magdalen College after 1501; this, plus his own affiliation with the college as a student earlier, may help to account for his interest in the young Wolsey. There is good evidence, however, that Foxe later opposed both Wolsey's war policy and the arbitrariness of his home rule (Pollard, pp. 102, 108-9, 190). Foxe's parting advice to Wolsey (LP, II, 1814) was 'and, good my lord, when the term is done, keep the Council with the king wherever he be,' a statement that implicitly confirms Cavendish's account (below, p. 12) of Wolsey's efforts to separate king and Council.

7/16 **sir Thomas lovell**: Sir Thomas Lovell (d. 1524) was a

student at Lincoln's Inn about 1473 and fought at Bosworth Field under Richmond in 1485. On 12 October 1485 Henry VII made him Chancellor of the Exchequer for life and thereafter he was frequently employed by the king. The two offices that Cavendish assigns to him here, Master of the Wards and Constable of the Tower, he did not receive until 1509 under Henry VIII, when he was confirmed as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Like Foxe, he seems to have been forced into retirement by Wolsey's rise and, after 1516, took little part in public affairs. Cf. W. C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration* (Baton Rouge, 1952), pp. 111-15.

7/20 Supply 'they' (the Counsellors) before 'thought' and 'him' (Wolsey) before 'a'.

7/23 **an ambassette . . . Maxymilian:** Cavendish's story of Wolsey's mission cannot be confirmed by the contemporary documents that have survived. Historians are now inclined to discredit many of its details, particularly his account of the time (about eighty hours) in which the journey was accomplished. T. W. Cameron thought that the mission might have occurred in 1507 but could offer no better authority for his view than a statement made by Bacon in his *Life of Henry VII*. Busch (pp. 381-2) believes that Cavendish's narrative refers to a mission made to the Bishop of Gurk on or about 23 August 1508. Wolsey was again in the Netherlands in October of that year and the correspondence relating to the second mission (partially preserved in LP, I, 426-452) alludes to an earlier mission made by him. Busch notes, however, that Wolsey could not have left the king 'at Richmond' (below, 8/9-10), for Henry was absent from there between the end of July and the end of August. Moreover, 'Maximilian . . . was staying at Dordrecht . . . and Wolsey could not have made the journey from Calais there in less than a day.'

7/33 **his grace presence:** Genitives without *s* are frequent in Cavendish even when the possessive word does not end with an *s*-sound; cf. 'monythe wages' 38/32-3, 'for my m^r sake' 105/11, 'my lord recognysaunce' 119/9.

9/1-4 **And hauyng . . . redy:** The construction is clumsy and somewhat redundant. Modern usage requires a comma after 'he' (l. 3).

10/9 Supply 'he' (Wolsey) before 'prepared'.

10/17 **the Deanry of lyncolne:** Wolsey was collated to this office on 2 February 1509. Henry VII undoubtedly intended the benefice

as a reward for his chaplain's services but the date argues against Cavendish's statement that the appointment resulted directly from the mission to Maximilian. By 4 June 1509 Wolsey had also received the Deanery of Hereford (Pollard, p. 13, n. 5).

10/21-2 **and after . . . almener**: Supply 'was' before 'after'. Wolsey did not become royal almoner until 8 November 1509 (Brodie's Preface to new ed. of LP, p. xiv) under Henry VIII. Pollard attributes his failure to achieve promotion in the first months of the new reign to the influence of Margaret of Beaufort, who apparently distrusted him.

10/34 **kyng or Cayser**: A Middle-English alliterative phrase, still common in the sixteenth century. See Langland (B. xix. 134), 'To be kaisere or kyng of the kyngedome of Iuda,' and note Spenser's suggestive use of the phrase in his description of Mammon's Cave (*F.Q.*, II, vii, 5. 8), 'The antique shapes of kings and kesars straunge and rare'.

10/35ff. The death of Henry VII. Henry VIII succeeded to the throne on 22 April 1509 and was crowned with Catherine, whom he had married on 11 June, on 25 June.

11/2 **the second Salomon**: Apparently a commonplace description of Henry VII. The phrase is used by William Forrest (pp. 30, 37-9) and later by Bacon (p. 211), who may possibly have taken it from Cavendish. The *O.E.D.*'s first example is from the 1554 edition of Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*.

11/7-8 **I Omyt . . . Cronycles**: Hall, for example, devotes some seven pages (506-12) to the description of the funeral and coronation ceremonies.

11/25-6 **sir Richard Emsons . . . howsse**: Sir Richard Empson (d. 1510). Empson had been given land in the parish of St. Bride in Fleet Street on 5 August 1507. His house there was granted to Wolsey on 18 October 1509 (Fiddes, p. 19). See *D.N.B.*

12/5 **other auneyent counsellours**: Besides Foxe and Lovell, who have already been mentioned, these were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ruthal, Secretary to the King and Bishop of Durham; Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey; Shrewsbury, the Lord Steward; Herbert, Lord Chamberlain; Lord Darcy, Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir Harry Marney. See Pollard's (pp. 10-11) analysis of the Council during Wolsey's early years and G. R. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 62-3.

13/23-5 The sentence involves an anacoluthon after 'qualites' (l. 25) which has been occasioned by the participle 'clymmyng'

(l. 23) and the repetition of the subject 'Thys Almosyner (l. 23) . . . he' (l. 25).

13/29 **the warres**: Henry VIII had joined the holy league with the Pope, following Ferdinand's lead, on 13 November 1511. The disastrous Fuenterrabia expedition of June 1512 was recouped by the campaign of 1513 (here described by Cavendish) that followed upon Henry's treaty of 5 April 1513 with Julius, Ferdinand, and Maximilian.

14/16 **passed . . . Calice**: Henry arrived in Calais with a retinue of 11,000 men on 30 June 1513. He left Calais for Théroutanne on 21 July (*Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 13-14). The city fell on 23 August.

14/24 **Maximilian**: Henry met Maximilian before Théroutanne on 12 August (Mackie, p. 279) 'and there the emperowre had wages of the kynge' (*Chronicle of Calais*, p. 14). Fiddes (p. 60) reports that the emperor received £25 per day for his services.

14/28 **that . . . to take**: The shift from the noun clause to the infinitive is confusing. Either 'for an emperor to take wages' or 'that an emperor should take wages'.

14/33 **Tourney**: Tournai, besieged early in September, capitulated on 21 September.

15/2-3 **gave . . . see**: Wolsey received Tournai in 1513 from Henry, but was never able to take possession of the see. A French bishop-elect, Louis Guillard, had already been appointed and for four years Wolsey carried on a controversy with him through his agent Sampson. See Polydore Vergil's account of the quarrel (*Anglica Historia*, Camden Society, 1950, p. 233) and, for Sampson, the note to 79/22 below.

15/8 **he retourned . . . England**: Henry returned to Calais on 19 October and sailed for England on the 21st.

15/10 **asskirmouche**: The 'skirmish' to which Cavendish refers was the famous 'Battle of the Spurs'. Hall (p. 550) tells us that 'The Frenchmen call this battaile the iourney of Spurre because they ranne away so fast on horsbacke'. The 'Duke of longvyle' was Louis d'Orleans (d. 1516), who, while a prisoner in England, helped to negotiate the marriage treaty between Henry's sister Mary and Louis XII of France. The 'Countie Clermound' was Antoine, second Count of Clermound (d. 1530), the king's Chamberlain.

15/12 **the See of lyncolne**: Wolsey was nominated to the see of Lincoln on 1 January 1514 (Hall, p. 567), although his predecessor, Dr. William Smith, did not die until 2 January. The papal bulls are dated 6 February and his consecration took place on 26 March.

Dr. William Smith (1460?-1514) had been translated to Lincoln from Coventry and Lichfield on 31 January 1496. He dropped out of public affairs after Margaret of Beaufort's death in 1509, and thereafter devoted his time and wealth to benefactions. Cavendish's account of Wolsey's appropriation of his goods is confirmed by the bill of articles against the cardinal of 1 December 1529 (LP, IV, 6075), where he is also charged with the same practice after his accession to the bishoprics of York, Durham, and Winchester.

15/20 Doctor Baynbrige: Christopher Bainbridge (1464?-1514), Archbishop of York, English ambassador at Rome (1509-14), and close friend of Julius II, died in Rome about 13 July 1514, allegedly poisoned by his chaplain, Rinaldo de Modena. The circumstances surrounding his death and the subsequent investigation of them are ably elucidated by Pollard (pp. 21-4). Wolsey's agent, Silvester de Giglis, Bishop of Worcester, was implicated in the affair but was acquitted. As soon as the news of Bainbridge's death reached England (5 August), Wolsey was given the temporalities of York; he paid the fees for his promotion principally out of Bainbridge's estate. The papal bulls are dated 15 September 1514.

15/28 Caunterbury: Wolsey's controversies with William Warham (1450?-1532), Archbishop of Canterbury, were to flare up a number of times during the cardinal's career. Warham already had a long record of faithful service to the crown. He served on several diplomatic missions between 1488 and 1503, was Bishop of London in 1501, and was given the archbishopric (succeeding Deane, Wolsey's old patron) on 29 November 1503. It was Warham who consecrated Wolsey a cardinal in November 1515 (below, p. 16) and delivered up the seal to him on 22 December of that year. The *D.N.B.*, echoing Fiddes and Grove, endeavours to show that little personal enmity existed between Wolsey and Warham, but modern opinion (cf. Pollard, p. 108, n. 2) has tended to confirm Cavendish's account of the 'grudge' between them. In his later life, Warham was forced to give in to the policies of Wolsey and Henry VIII. He was chief counsel for Catherine at the divorce trial, but was of little use to her, giving as his reason '*Ira principis mors est*', a maxim which Wolsey could also find occasion to quote after his fall (below, 137/26-7).

16/4-5 Caused his Crosse . . . hym: After Wolsey received the cardinalate, he had two crosses borne before him (below, 17/28 ff.), one as archbishop and the other as cardinal, or, as Cavendish has it, 'for his legacye'. At the Westminster ceremony in which Wolsey

received the red hat, no cross was borne before Warham; 'and none was ever borne again before him in Wolsey's presence. . . . Warham had not even one in his own province, when it was illumined by Wolsey's superior lustre' (Pollard, p. 57).

16/13 **legatus de latere**: Wolsey did not obtain his 'legacy' until 17 May 1518 and then 'simply as a colleague to watch and control Campeggio' (Pollard, p. 170), who was coming to England to encourage interest in a crusade. In 1519 Leo X prolonged the commission for two years and, under Adrian VI, two further extensions were granted. Wolsey finally managed to secure his commission for life from Clement VII. Pollard (Ch. V) has an admirable discussion of the whole question of the legateship and the problems it created. The crux of the difficulties lay in the fact that, as legate de latere, Wolsey was a special papal envoy and hence responsible only to the Pope, while, as Chancellor and subject of Henry, he owed his allegiance to the British crown. Before him, legates de latere had been given only temporary appointments (as Campeggio's was in 1518); his unprecedented power stemmed from the union of spiritual and temporal jurisdictions in his own person.

17/1 Supply 'he' (Wolsey) before 'thought'.

17/9 **Chauncelour of England**: Wolsey received the Chancellorship on 24 December 1515, two days after Warham's resignation (above 15/28 and n.). Warham had been Lord Chancellor since 21 January 1504.

17/17 **to convocatt Caunterbury**: In 1523 Wolsey called Warham's convocation at St. Paul's before him in Westminster. This action is said to have inspired Skelton's famous lines: 'Gentle Paule laie downe thy swearde;/For Peter of Westminster hath shaven thy beard.' Even after his fall and shortly before his planned installation at York, he called a convocation of his province without waiting for a regular mandate from the king (Pollard, pp. 292-3).

17/19-20 **takyng . . . Dyoces**: The cardinal's far-reaching powers of appointment are fully discussed by Pollard (pp. 204-8). The technical term 'prevencion' (l. 24, below) refers to 'the privilege in Canon Law possessed or claimed by an ecclesiastical superior of taking precedence of or forestalling an inferior in the execution of an official act regularly pertaining to the latter' (*O.E.D.*). The seventh of the articles against Wolsey in 1530 specifically mentions his abuse of this power (LP, IV, 6075).

17/33 **the bysshopyrche of Duresme**: Wolsey had acquired Bath and Wells *in commendam* by a bull of 30 July 1518 and had

received its temporalities on 28 August of that year. He resigned this see for Durham in February 1523 (Le Neve, III, 293). When Foxe died on 5 October 1528 Wolsey received Winchester, which he held *in commendam* by a bull of 8 February 1529 (Le Neve, III, 16).

17/33 the Abbey of seynt Albons: Wolsey received St. Albans from Henry on 17 December 1521 (Pollard, p. 321); it was, at this time, the richest abbey in England and had, in 1535, revenues amounting to £2102 per year. Upon Wolsey's fall in 1529 it was given to Robert Catton, Prior of Norwich, who died two years later. Pollard comments (pp. 173–4) that 'it was almost unprecedented for an English archbishop to hold an English bishopric *in commendam*, and it was a still more flagrant abuse for a secular priest like Wolsey to hold such an improper *commendam* as St. Albans. . . .' Wolsey's various *in commendam* holdings were in direct violation of a decree of the Lateran Council of 1512–17.

17/33–4 in Commendam: This term was used to describe the tenure of a benefice 'commended' or given in charge to a qualified clerk or layman, to hold until a proper incumbent was provided for it, or according to a later practice, bestowed upon a layman or secular ecclesiastic, with enjoyment of the revenues for life.

18/3 in ferme . . . hereford: Cavendish seems confused in listing the bishoprics which Wolsey 'farmed out' for their non-resident incumbents. Bath was held by Hadrian de Castello or Corneto from 1504 until 1518, when he was deprived and the bishopric given to Wolsey himself (above, 17/33 and n.). Castello had formerly held Hereford (1502–4), but from 1504 onwards that see was occupied by Englishmen. Worcester was held by three 'strangers' during Wolsey's period of power: Silvester de Giglis (for whom see above, 15/20 and n.), 1498–1521; Giulio de Medici, later Pope Clement VII, 1521–22; and Jerome de Ghinucci, 1522–35. Cavendish does not mention Campeggio's possession of Salisbury, 1524–34, and Ateca's (Catherine's Spanish confessor) occupancy of Llandaff, 1517–36. It is just possible that Cavendish's confusion arose from his belief that Campeggio was Bishop of Bath. This error may have originated in his recollection that Campeggio stayed at Bath Place while he was in London in 1528 and 1529. See 77/9–10 and n.

18/26 the order of his howsse: The number of servants here listed by Cavendish totals about 406 to 409 people, depending on how the 'nine or ten' lords, each with two servants (20/8–9), are added into the account. This total does not include the miscellaneous

'retainers and suitors' (21/11-12). Cavendish's round number of 500 is thus approximately correct, but the actual count of 406-9 squares even better with the total of 429 which is given in the assessment of Wolsey's household for the subsidy of 1526 (LP, IV, 2972 and 6185). Pollard (p. 327), estimating that the number of those who would not have been assessed for the subsidy must have been as great as the number of those who were, gives the total number of servants as 'little if at all short of a thousand'.

18/32 Cofferer: An officer of the Royal Household, next under the controller, who had the supervision of the other officers.

18/35 surveyour of the Dressor: An officer of a household who superintended the preparation and serving of food. The 'dresser' was a sideboard or table on which food was dressed.

19/12 gentleman for the monthe: The phrase is not recorded by the *O.E.D.* It apparently means an officer appointed by the month who was replaced at the end of that time by another gentleman. But I have found no other evidence for such a rotating office in Wolsey's household.

20/4 Pillers berers: Those who bore Wolsey's 'pillars' which he had introduced as symbols of his office. Cf. *O.E.D.* (s.v. *Pillar* 5).

20/6 xij . . . wayters: It was probably in this group of servants that Cavendish himself served his master. In the list of Wolsey's suite that disembarked at Calais in 1527 he is listed among the 'Awdiencies' (*Chronicle of Calais*, p. 40). The word 'audience' in this sense does not occur in the *O.E.D.*; it seems to mean 'gentleman-in-waiting' as distinct from 'gentleman-usher' proper. See the introduction, pp. xix-xx.

20/9-10 the Erle of Derby: Edward Stanley (1508-72), the second but eldest surviving son of Thomas Stanley, second earl, who died on 23 May 1521. The third earl was one of Wolsey's wards during his minority.

20/23 Clarke of the Crowne: An officer of Chancery who issued writs for the summoning of peers in the House of Lords, and writs of election for members of the House of Commons.

20/23 ridyng Clarke: 'One of the six Clarks of the Chancery, who takes his turn for his year to have the controlling of all Grants which passe the great Seal' (Phillipps, *Riding Clark*, 1658, cited in *O.E.D.*, s.v. *Riding*, ppl. a.).

20/23-4 Clarke of the hamper: Clerk of the Hanaper, that department of the Chancery into which fees were paid for the sealing and enrolment of charters and other documents.

20/24 **Chaffer of waxe:** A chafe-wax was 'an officer attending on the Lord Chancellor, whose duty it was to prepare the wax for sealing documents' (*O.E.D.*).

20/24-5 **Clarke of the Chekke:** Normally an officer in the royal household who kept the check-roll, keeping a check on the other servants in the fulfilment of their duties.

20/33 **Clarke of the Grean clothe:** An officer of the Board of Green Cloth (named from the green-covered table at which its business was originally transacted), a department of the Royal Household, consisting of the Lord Steward and his subordinates, which has control of various matters of expenditure, and legal and judicial authority within the sovereign's court-royal (after *O.E.D.*).

21/22-3 **he was . . . Charles the 5:** Charles V became emperor on 28 June 1519; his grandfather Maximilian had died (below, l. 25) on 12 January of that year. Cavendish's statement that the cardinal was sent to the emperor on two occasions seems to be erroneous, for, between 1519 and his fall in 1529, Wolsey's only special mission to Charles occurred in the summer of 1521. It is this journey which Cavendish describes in some detail in the following pages. In 1520, Wolsey was with Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and, on their return from Guisnes and Ardres, both monarch and minister met Charles at Gravelines, outside Calais, on 10 July. On 26 May 1520 Wolsey had been deputed by Henry to meet Charles at Dover. Perhaps Cavendish conceived of one of these meetings as having entailed a journey to Bruges on the cardinal's part. It may be noted, however, that in his actual description (pp. 21-2) he speaks of Wolsey's mission as if it had occurred only once. Thus we find him referring to 'his Ambassett', not 'his Ambassetts', at 22/28.

21/23-4 **that nowe . . . lord:** Good evidence that this portion of the *Life* was written before the news of Charles's abdication (January 1556) reached England. Philip and Mary were married on 25 July 1554 and thus Cavendish, who tells us that he began his book on 4 November, must have written this passage sometime after 4 November 1554. See the introduction, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

21/28 **so worthy an Ambassett:** The *Chronicle of Calais* says that Wolsey arrived on the continent on 2 August 1521. On 12 August he left for Bruges and there, on 25 August, concluded a treaty between Henry and Charles. He returned to Calais on 29 August and remained there until 27 November (*Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 30-1 and Mackie, p. 311).

22/6-7 **dischargyng . . . charges:** i.e. paying all his bills for him and his train.

22/13 **ne allthough:** i.e. not even if.

22/18 **And there serued lyueres:** Hall's account (p. 625) of the entertainment given to Wolsey's retinue is equally indicative of the emperor's hospitality: 'The Englishe lordes, knightes, esquiers, yomen of the kynges gard & other beyng to the number of .iiii. C. lx. horse, were well lodged euery man after his degree and euery lodgyng furnished with fewell, bread, bere, wyne, Beues, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Venison, and all maner dcintie viand aswell in fishe as fleshe, with no lacke of spices and bankettyng dishes.'

24/19 **the Crane in the vyntrie:** The Vintry was 'a large house built of stone and timber, with vaults for the stowage of wines' (Stowe p. 214); it gave its name to the ward in which it stood. The Crane is explained by Stowe as 'the Three Cranes' lane, so called not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines with. . . .'

26/8 **the lord Sandes:** William Sandys (d. 1540), Baron Sandys of 'The Vine', near Basingstoke, Hampshire, was a great favourite of Henry VIII. In 1509, upon the young king's accession, he was made a Knight of the Body and his debts were remitted. Treasurer of Calais in 1517, he was created Baron Sandys on 27 April 1523. He did not become Lord Chamberlain until 15 April 1526, when he received the office by reversion at the death of the Earl of Worcester. Thus the masque which Cavendish here describes must have occurred at some time after that date.

26/9 **sir herry Gywldford:** Like Sandys, Sir Henry Guildford (1489-1532) was one of the young courtiers with whom Henry surrounded himself soon after his accession. He was knighted on 30 March 1512 and, after the expedition of 1513, became Master of the Revels. He was noted for his ability in devising entertainments and was frequently so employed by Henry. After Wolsey's fall, Guildford was one of the members of the committee on the articles of impeachment and he later received a pension from Wolsey's Winchester revenues.

27/9-10 **to whome . . . cast at:** i.e. they set various pieces of coin before each of the company, casting dice with the guests for them. The antecedent of 'whome' is apparently 'most worthiest' (l. 8).

27/33 **sir Edward Neveyll:** Sir Edward Neville (d. 1538), another of Henry's favourites in the early years of his reign. He was knighted

at Tournai, 25 September 1513. In 1516, he became a gentleman of the privy chamber and Master of the Buckhounds and, from then until 1538, when he was implicated in the Poles' conspiracy and executed with Montagu and Exeter, he held many offices in the royal household. He is reputed to have been a fine soldier and a handsome courtier, a description that is borne out by Cavendish's short characterization of him.

28/3 **dasht owt wt**: Either 'ran from the room' or 'broke forth with'. In view of the fact that the King apparently does not leave the room until l. 8 below, the latter seems more likely. The *O.E.D.* (s.v. *Dash* 2.b.) cites this passage from Holinshed's *Chronicle* where the 'with' is omitted and defines the phrase as meaning 'drove impetuously forth or out'. Cavendish's intransitive usage is not recorded.

29/3 **Venus . . . goddesse**: Wolsey's complaint in Cavendish's poems has the lines: 'Thus Venus the goddesse that called is of love/ Spared not with spight to bryng me from above' (II, 14).

29/4-5 **She brought . . . gentillwoman**: Cavendish's mention of Anne Boleyn introduces us to the highly controversial question of the Divorce. Modern historians, like their predecessors, have disagreed considerably on both the facts of the matter and the interpretation that is to be placed upon them. The most recent account (Mackie, pp. 322ff.), while emphasizing the role that Wolsey played in supporting the king's attempt to divorce Catherine, is inclined to credit the king himself with the germinal idea. Hughes (I, 157-9) places the sole responsibility for all the proceedings squarely on Henry's shoulders. Anne's own refusal to acquiesce in Henry's wishes until it became certain that she would be queen undoubtedly 'fired' (the metaphor is Cavendish's) the king's passion to the utmost. Despite the contention of Pollard (p. 19, n. 2), followed by Mackie (p. 323) that the idea of the divorce first arose in 1514, an examination of the relevant items in the *Venetian Calendar* (see also Mattingly, pp. 127 and 320-1) would tend to show that the question did not arise before the winter of 1526-7.

29/9 **sir Thomas Bolayn**: Most historians now agree with Cavendish's account of the manner in which Sir Thomas Boleyn (1477-1539) achieved the royal favour which he enjoyed between 1522 and the downfall of his daughter and son. His dislike of Wolsey probably went back to 1515 when the cardinal succeeded in convincing Henry that his promise to Boleyn of the treasureship of the royal household should be denied or at least postponed (Pollard, p. 222, n. 1). Boleyn became Comptroller of the Household in 1520 but he

did not receive the treasurership until April 1522, a date which, interestingly enough, corresponds to the presumed date of the Percy-Anne episode (see below, 29/34 and n.). Friedmann (I, 43) gives the following list of Boleyn's appointments between 1522 and 1525: '... on the 24th of April, 1522, the patent of treasurer of the household; five days later the stewardship of Tunbridge, the receivership of Bransted, and the keepership of the manor of Penshurst; in 1523 the keepership of Thunderby and Westwood Park, and in 1524 the stewardship of Swaffham. Having by all these lucrative employments obtained sufficient means to sustain the dignity, Sir Thomas was in 1525 created Lord Rochford.' In addition, he became a Knight of the Garter in 1523. On 8 December 1529, one week after the articles against Wolsey were presented in Parliament, Boleyn became Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and, on 24 January 1530 Lord Privy Seal.

29/19 **his Sonne**: George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford. Arrested on 2 May 1536, after the famous May Day tournament, he was executed, on a charge of 'incest and treason', on 17 May, two days before Anne met the same fate.

29/24-5 **I will . . . you**: The 'do' in l. 24 is redundant; 'declare you,' i.e. 'declare unto you'.

29/25-6 **beyng very yong . . . ffraunce**: If, as most authorities now incline to believe, Anne was born in 1507, she would have been only seven years old when she first went to France in 1514 with Henry VIII's sister, Mary. It is, of course, by no means certain that she was in France so early and some historians have believed that it was Anne's sister, Mary, who is referred to as 'M. Boleyne' in the list of Mary's suite (Friedmann, II, 316-22). The 'frenche Quene' was Claude, Francis I's consort (d. 1524). Cavendish confuses his chronology when he asserts that Anne did not return to England until 'the frenche Quene dyed' (ll. 27-8, below). The Percy episode occurred in 1522 and Anne must have been back in England by January of that year when Francis I wrote that 'Mr. Boullan's daughter had returned to her country' (LP, III, 1994). She took part in an entertainment at Wolsey's house on 4 March 1522 (Revels Accounts, LP, III, pp. 1558-9).

29/34 **my lord Percy**: Henry Algernon Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland (1502?-37), was brought up, according to the custom of the period, in Wolsey's household. Knighted in 1519, he had been destined by his father to be the husband of Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, from as far back as 1516. His

affair with Anne, says the *D.N.B.* (s.v. Anne Boleyn), can be shown to have taken place as early as 1522 'by the most conclusive evidence'. In October of that year Percy was sent to the North, serving there as Deputy Warden of the Marches. For a full discussion, see Brewer's Preface to LP, IV, pp. ccxliii–ccxliv. He married Mary Talbot in late 1523 or early 1524, but their union was a most unhappy one. She soon returned to her father and later, in 1532, accused Percy of a precontract with Anne. When this matter came up again in 1536 at the time of Anne's indictment, Percy vehemently denied the existence of any precontract (see his letter in Singer, pp. 464–5).

30/10–11 **revealed . . . Cardynall**: If Henry did conceive an affection for Anne as early as 1522, he certainly kept his project well concealed for some years thereafter. It would seem that at the moment he was more interested in Anne's sister, Mary; moreover, it is probable that the projected marriage between Anne and the son of the Earl of Ormond (mentioned as early as September 1520) was the real cause of Henry's interference at this time. At 31/7–9 Wolsey tells Percy that Henry 'entendyd to haue preferred hir/vnto an other person/wt whome the kyng hathe travelled allredye/"/>.

30/16–17 **byfore vs his seruantes**: For the first time in his narrative Cavendish speaks of himself as an eye-witness to the events which he describes. We are thus enabled to date his entry into Wolsey's service as occurring at least as early as 1522. See the introduction, p. xix.

31/20–1 **right noble parentage**: Sir William Boleyn (d. 1515), Anne's paternal grandfather, had married Margaret Butler, daughter of Sir Thomas Ormond, who was later seventh Earl of Ormond. Anne's father had married the lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, afterwards second Duke of Norfolk. For Howard, see below (94/23 and n.).

32/5 **Yes qd he**: The 'yes' is spoken by Percy, to whom 'he' refers. Wolsey then continues with 'I warraunt the . . .'

33/29 **I haue . . . Boyes**: Northumberland had two other sons besides Henry: Sir Thomas Percy (d. 1537) and Sir Ingelram Percy (d. 1540). The old earl did not carry out the threat that Cavendish here depicts him as making; his eldest son succeeded to the title at his father's death on 19 May 1527.

34/10 **the same**: i.e. the precontract ('assurance') between Anne and Percy.

34/11–12 **oon . . . daughters**: For Mary Talbot, see above (29/34 and n.) and, for the Earl of Shrewsbury, below (140/15 and n.).

34/13-14 **Anne Bolloyn . . . offendyd**: Cavendish is probably right in associating the origin of Anne's opposition to the cardinal with the Percy episode. Her father and Wolsey had never been friends and, in 1529, the cardinal sharply rebuked Boleyn (below, 87/14ff.). For an earlier dispute between them, see above (29/9 and n.). In 1527 Anne would have been further incensed by the knowledge that Wolsey was scheming to marry Henry to Renée, the sister of Claude, Francis I's queen (Pollard, p. 222 and below, 62/7ff.). Certainly, as Cavendish notes, Wolsey can be exonerated from any blame in the Percy affair; in this case he was merely carrying out the will of his master.

34/19-20 **commaundyd . . . Court**: Cavendish speaks as if Anne's stay with her father (at Hever, the family manor, in Kent) was not long. This is in accord with the tradition that she was again in France before 1525. She returned to the Court sometime between 1525 and 1527 but the circumstances of her recall are obscure.

35/4-5 **althoughe . . . hir**: Either 'although she knew that he had a great affection unto her' or 'despite the fact that the king had a great affection unto her'. The 'that' seems to make the first more likely. Cavendish apparently meant to set up an antithesis between 'affection' (1. 5) and 'great love' (1. 6).

35/21-2 **a perfect Grysheld**: See Appendix A.

35/27 **Comenwell**: *MS.* Coen well. Other editors have read 'scene well' but 'scene' in this sense (*O.E.D.* 10) is not recorded before 1679. Cavendish frequently omits the abbreviation mark for *m* in 'comen' (e.g. 78/34) and 'well' is a normal variant of 'wele' or 'weal'.

35/29 **caught an occasion. . . .**: The opposition to Wolsey in the Council was led by Norfolk and the Boleyns, supported (at least later) by Suffolk (Pollard, pp. 222-3). Wolsey's efforts to reduce the nobility to a level with 'other meane subiectes' had already caused a great deal of dissent. As early as 1516, according to Hall (p. 585), the cardinal had 'punyshed also lordes, knyghtes, and men of all sortes for ryottes, beryng and mayntenaunce in their countreyes, that the poore men lyued quyetyly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonment: but he him selfe and his seruauztes, which were well punished therfore.'

36/32-3 **that . . . Imagyned**: Cavendish presumably alludes to speculations about the divorce. It is this topic which he takes up when he 'comes to the place' on p. 74, where the 'dyuers Imagynacions' are again mentioned.

37/1 **Than began:** For the Battle of Pavia and the events which led up to it, see Appendix B.

37/17-18 **that an Ambassett . . . Emprou:** For the details of these negotiations, which took place in the summer of 1523, see Lavissee (V, ii, 29-30) who gives a full account of the treaties that were signed by Henry VIII, Charles V, and the Duke.

37/23-4 **oon . . . men:** Apparently the Marquis of Pescara, Ferdinando Francesco d'Avaloz, Charles V's general with whom Bourbon joined forces in an effort to raise the siege of Pavia.

37/25-6 **sir Iohn Russell:** The English plan to enlist the aid of Bourbon against the French had begun as far back as June 1523, when Sir John Russell (1486?-1555) was sent to the Duke for the first time (LP, II, 3217). Russell came to an agreement with Bourbon in early September and was back in England by the 26th. He set off again with £12,000 in October 1523 and remained with or near Bourbon until after Pavia. He got more money in 1524, but sent it back to England. It is not certain that payments to Bourbon were completely cut off, but there can be little doubt that Wolsey was already beginning to shift to the French side (Mackie, pp. 314-15). Cavendish carries the cardinal's 'policy' a step further when he mentions (below, 41/28) a 'leage' between Henry and Francis which was captured by Bourbon at Pavia. No pact had been signed, although Wolsey was certainly thinking along such lines.

Russell had a long and active career under Henry, Edward, and Mary. It was he who, on 1 November 1529, brought Wolsey a ring from the king (below, 110/22). On 19 January 1550 he was created Earl of Bedford for his service in suppressing the rebels at St. Mary's Clyst.

38/16 **Iohn Iokyn:** The fullest account of the mission of Jean Joachim de Passano is given by Jacqueton (pp. 53ff.). This secret agent, a man of mystery to Hall as well as to Cavendish, was a Genoese, the secretary of Fregosa, governor of Genoa, who was resident at the French court as early as 1520. Joachim was at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in that year and seems to have become maître d'hôtel to Louise of Savoy shortly thereafter. He arrived in London on 22 June 1524, having disguised himself as an Italian merchant while on the Continent waiting for a safe-conduct. Cavendish probably retails the common gossip of the day when he makes him to be 'a man byfore of no estymacyon'. Hall (p. 691), contrary to Cavendish's statement that Joachim stayed at Richmond (below, l. 23), says that the envoy 'was kept close in the house of doctor

Larke, a Prebendary of sainte Steuens, and every daie priuely spake with the Cardinall'. This Thomas Lark was the brother of Wolsey's mistress. De Praet, the imperial ambassador, protested vigorously against Joachim's presence and was temporarily imprisoned by Wolsey for his interference (Pollard, p. 138, n.). Joachim was joined by Jean Brinon, another ambassador, on 22 January 1525; the two colleagues succeeded so well in their mission that on 6 March, three days before the news of Pavia reached London, they could write to Louise that Wolsey 'said he was beginning to be considered a Frenchman [cf. Cavendish's comment, above, ll. 11-12], and was willing, for their sakes, to be as good a Frenchman as he had been a Spaniard, for he had only helped the Spaniards from necessity' (LP, IV, 1160).

39/23-4 (**as I doubt . . . vs:** The parentheses seem to be incorrectly placed; Cavendish apparently means the Duke to say 'and I have no fear that he will deceive us.')

41/21 **Suspectyng . . . entre:** i.e. not in the least suspecting the duke's entry.

42/2-3 **he went . . . Rome:** Contrary to Cavendish's account, Bourbon did not advance immediately upon Rome; his disgruntled troops finally broke into the city on 6 May 1527. Clement VII was imprisoned in Castle Angelo and Wolsey had an added reason for his trip to France. Bourbon died in the first assault. The Pope was not released by the emperor until December 1527, when he was allowed to go to Orvieto. It is perhaps worth noting that Rome was sacked by Italian and Spanish troops in September 1526 as well as in 1527; Cavendish may have confused the two different attacks, the second of which was far more severe than the first. Even so, a good year and one half intervened between Pavia and the first assault on the holy city.

42/22-3 **And therefore . . . successe:** The second clause partially repeats and partially explains the first. One might paraphrase 'and thus it is that they come to such an end and that their affairs have such an outcome [success].' Cavendish's 'suche' is, of course, ironic.

42/31-2 **if the kyng . . . ffraunce:** This was Wolsey's own reaction when he first heard the news of Francis's capture (Mackie, pp. 313-14).

43/16 **the ffrenche kynges delyuere:** Wolsey had managed to make peace with France on 30 August 1525, when the so-called 'Treaty of the Moor' was signed at his palace of that name between

Rickmansworth and Northwood (LP, IV, 1600). Contrary to Cavendish's statement that Wolsey dictated terms to the emperor (below, I. 19), this treaty had little effect on the Treaty of Madrid which Charles V forced on Francis in the following January (Pollard, p. 148). Francis was released on 17 March 1526 after his two eldest sons, Francis, the Dauphin (1517–36), and the Duke d'Orleans (1518–59), were delivered to Charles as hostages.

44/13 ther Cheafe mrs: Most modern historians agree with Cavendish's statement that, during Wolsey's journey to France, Anne ingratiated herself with Henry as she had not been able to do before. See, for example, Mattingly's account (pp. 257–8). How much the cardinal knew of this while he was in France is perhaps open to question, but it is interesting to note that Sir William Fitzwilliam saw fit to tell him in a letter of 31 July (LP, IV, 3318) from Beaulieu that the king was supping daily with Norfolk, Suffolk, Exeter, and Rochford. Wolsey certainly learned of what had been going on when he returned in September (below, 64/10–11 and n.). By 26 October Mendoza, the imperial ambassador, could report that Norfolk and the Boleyns had become 'heads of a league against Wolsey and [that] Wolsey himself [was] "now trying all he can to prevent the divorce" for fear of Anne becoming queen' (Pollard, p. 222, quoting *Spanish Calendar*, 1527–29, p. 432).

44/18–19 this Iourney: Cavendish's vividly detailed description of the cardinal's mission can be strikingly substantiated from many passages in the *Letters and Papers* and from Hall's account (pp. 728–32). Wolsey's commission, under which he was appointed 'King's lieutenant and plenipotentiary in France,' is set out in LP, IV, 3186 (18 June 1527). He was empowered to secure the ratification of the treaties of Westminster made the previous April, in which war on the emperor had been agreed upon (Pollard, pp. 152–4). Moreover, he intended to get himself made vicar-general during the Pope's imprisonment and, if possible, to call a special conclave at Avignon. Finally, he was to break the news of the king's plans for a divorce to Francis I. Despite Cavendish's suspension of judgement (below II. 19–20), there can be little doubt that Wolsey saw his mission as a grand moment in his career.

44/21–2 after . . . therof: i.e. after it had been decided that he should undertake the embassy.

44/25–6 thys noble ambassett: LP, IV, 3216 gives a partial list of the members of Wolsey's suite and mentions that it contained '900 horse'. Unfortunately, the MS. (Cotton Caligula D. x. f. 103) is

mutilated; otherwise we should probably find that it, like the *Chronicle of Calais* (pp. 38–40), mentions a ‘mastar Caundishe’ in Wolsey’s train. The *Chronicle* confirms the 900 horses of the *Letters and Papers*; Hall (p. 728) says Wolsey left London with ‘twelue hundreth horse’.

44/29–30 Than . . . forward: Wolsey left London on 3 July 1527. His itinerary to Dover is summed up in LP, IV, 3231 (cf. *State Papers*, I, 196).

45/16 sir Richard wyltchers howsse: Wolsey actually stayed at Sir John Wiltshire’s house on this occasion (LP, IV, 3231). Sir John was at this time Controller of Calais (see LP, IV, p. 2227 and no. 2507). Wordsworth notes (p. 519) that his house was Stone Place, 17 miles from London, 2 miles beyond Dartford, and near Greenhithe.

45/18 The next day: 4 July.

45/21 the iij^{de} day: 5 July. See Wolsey’s letter to Henry from there (LP, IV, 3231).

45/23 The iiijth day: 6 July. See LP, IV, 3243, 3244, and 3247. Wolsey left Canterbury on 10 July and sailed from Dover on the 11th.

45/28 the feast of Seynt Thomas: 7 July, the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Cavendish’s description of the festival closely follows that of Hall (p. 728): ‘and at Cauntorburie he rested, & there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, & howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinales: wherfore he caused a Letany to be song by the monkes of Christes Church, after this maner. S, Maria, ora pro Clemente papa. Se Petri ora pro Clemente papa. & so furthe al ye letany: then he exhorted the people to fast & pray for his deliuerance.’

46/7 launceknuyghtes: ‘Originally the German word (*lands-knecht*) denoted the mercenary foot-soldiers belonging to the imperial territory, in contra-distinction to the Swiss; but it was very early applied in a wider sense’ (*O.E.D.*). Cavendish uses the term here to refer to the German (Lutheran) mercenaries in the pay of the Duke of Bourbon who committed so many outrages at Rome in 1527.

46/7 The next day: Cavendish left Wolsey on 8 July and reached Calais that evening. He remained there until the morning of the 11th, when the cardinal arrived. In LP, IV, 3254 Wolsey writes that he embarked between three and four in the morning on 11 July and reached Calais by nine.

46/15 recevyed in procession, etc.: For the cardinal's activities while in Calais and the preparations for his advance into France, see LP, IV, 3262, 3269, 3279, and 3288. On 13 July, Wolsey issued a 'Proclamation for establishing of trade and merchandizing and traffique with the towne and marches of Callice, with divers immunities and freedoms concerning the same' (LP, IV, 3262; text in the *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 102-9). This is apparently the 'marte' that Cavendish (below, 64/3) speaks of Wolsey as founding upon his return to Calais in September. Hall (p. 729) assigns the event to July and implies that the mart failed because Calais 'was a towne of warre', which made it impossible for the merchants to have complete freedom of movement, and because 'the hauen is not able to receiue greate Hulkes and Carikes that come to a marte'. The establishment of the mart was evidently intended as an affront to the emperor, with whose Flemish merchants the English had long been accustomed to trade.

46/23-4 clean remyssiō: Wolsey, as Papal Legate, had the power to grant Plenary Indulgences, which remitted all of the temporal punishment due to sin. He repeats this special blessing later at Peterborough after his fall (below, 133/20) and in France (below, 49/26) he gives 'certyn dayes of pardon', i.e. a Partial Indulgence, or partial remission of temporal punishment, to the citizens of Boulogne.

46/29 Monsur de Bees: Du Biez's visit to Wolsey apparently did not occur until the 17th (LP, IV, 3269 and 3279). Oudart, Seigneur du Biez (d. 1553) was Chamberlain to the king, Captain of Boulogne (June 1523), and later Marshall of France (1542).

46/35 he called byfore hyme: Wolsey's speech to his retainers must have occurred on 21 July, for he left Calais on the 22nd and arrived at Boulogne that evening.

47/25 wylylyng and commaund you: So MS. There should perhaps be a full stop before 'wylylyng'. Supply 'I' (Wolsey) as the subject of 'wylylyng' and 'commaund'. The shift from the participle to the finite verb, though frequent in Cavendish, is more confusing than usual in this instance.

48/2-3 oon of the gentlemen: This 'Rice' is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Calais* (p. 40) as one of Wolsey's 'Awdiences' in the 1527 embassy. He may have been the John ap Price or ap Rhys mentioned in the *D.N.B.* (XLVI, p. 329), who was a servant of the king in 1519, and later officiated as a servitor at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. It is not impossible, however, that he is to be identified with Sir

John ap Price (d. 1573?) who was a visitor of the monasteries and seems to have been in Cromwell's service at least as early as 1532 (*D.N.B.*, *ibid.*).

48/29-30 **the brode seale**: On his 1521 mission to Bruges Wolsey had not hesitated to take the Broad Seal with him, thus holding up royal business in England (Pollard, p. 92; LP, III, 1650, 1675, 1680, and 1762). By September 1527 Henry needed the Seal again and commanded Taylor to seal and deliver some letters patent immediately. But the Master of the Rolls first wrote to Wolsey to ask his permission before acting on the king's order.

48/32 **it began . . . vehemently**: Cf. Wolsey's letter to Henry (LP, IV, 3289, 22 July) where the cardinal tells of his meeting at Sandingfield with the Lieutenant of Picardy (below, 49/6-7); mentions three pageants that were presented for him (Hall, p. 729, describes them); notes that the day was very wet and stormy; and describes his visit to 'Our Lady Churche' (below, 49/23).

48/34-49/1 **the Cardynall of lorryn**: For this gentleman and his three brothers see below (52/23 and n.).

49/6 **le Countie Brian**: Philippe de Chabot, Admiral de Brion (1480-1543), who had been appointed Admiral by Francis after Bonivet's death at Pavia.

49/8 **Stradiates and Arbanoyes**: A sort of light-armed cavalry. Cf. Jean Nicot's description of these troops (*Thresor De La Langue Francoyse*, Paris, 1606, Sig. C): ' . . . celuy qui habite en cette contrée de Macedoine, ou d'Epire comme aucuns veulent. Et à present on appelle en particulier Albanois ces hommes de cheual armez à la legere, autrement dite Stradiote, ou Stradiots (par la consone moyenne) qui portent les chapeaux à haute testiere, desquels on se sert pour cheuaux legers, qui viennent dudit pais d'Albanie, dont les Papes se seruent encore de ce temps és garnisons de plusieurs villes du Saint Siege.'

49/11 **ffor my lord . . . Emprou**: Wolsey feared that he might be attacked from Charles V's domains in Burgundy and the Low Countries.

49/28 **The next mornynge**: 23 July. On the 24th Wolsey writes to Henry of his arrival at Montreuil (LP, IV, 3294) and tells him that the Prior of the White Friars (probably Cavendish's 'oon learned', below, l. 31) made him an oration.

50/4-5 **le Cardynall pacyfike**: Cf. Hall (p. 730), 'and euer he was called *Cardinalis pacificus* the Cardinall pacifique, and so was writen at the gate of his lodging [at Amiens]'.

50/7 **The next day:** 24 July (LP, IV, 3295). The mayor's secretary made him an oration on this occasion.

50/16 **kyng lowice:** Henry's sister, Mary (1496–1533), had married Louis XII of France (1462–1515) at Abbeville on 9 October 1514. Louis died on 1 January 1515, and Mary, who had agreed to the marriage only on the condition that she would be allowed to choose for herself the next time, married Suffolk in the following spring.

50/17–18 **the Duke of Suffolk:** Like Wolsey, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (d. 1545), had risen to power from the lower ranks of society. His father had been Henry VII's standard bearer at Bosworth Field and was killed there by Richard III himself. Charles is not heard of until Henry VIII's reign, but he soon became a great favourite of the young king. He was Marshall of the 1513 expedition and on 1 February 1514 became Duke of Suffolk. His precipitate marriage to Henry's sister in 1515 brought him into temporary disfavour, but he escaped with a heavy fine. Suffolk plays an important part in the drama of Wolsey's fall; see below (90/24 ff. and n. and 98/1 ff.).

50/18–19 **And beyng w^{thin} . . . Gallery:** The sentence, as it stands, is elliptical. We might paraphrase 'once one was within he could see that the house was constructed in the manner of a gallery'. The gallery-like shape of the house might imply that it was uncomfortable; consequently Cavendish notes, in the next line that 'notwithstanding it was very necessary' (comfortable).

50/20 **viiijth or x^{en} dayes:** Wolsey remained at Abbeville from 24 July until 3 August (LP, IV, 3337).

50/25 **Pynkney castell:** The cardinal reached Picquigny on 3 August and lodged there at a 'castle of Mons. Vidams' (LP, *ibid.*).

50/31 **Edward the iiijth:** Cavendish could have read of this meeting at Picquigny (29 August 1475) in Hall (pp. 318 ff.), who gives a very full account. The phrase 'Cronycles of Englonde' might suggest that Cavendish is speaking of the so-called 'Saint Albans Chronicle,' published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1515 and 1528 as *The Cronycles of Englonde*. But this chronicle stops at the year 1460 with the coronation of Edward IV. Since no other chronicle of the period bore this title, we should probably take Cavendish's phrase as a generic reference to the various history writers who had described the event.

50/34–5 **that the ffrenche kyng . . . Amyens:** Francis I arrived in Amiens on 3 August (Hall, pp. 729–30).

51/9–10 **Madame Regent:** This was the famous Louise of Savoy (1476–1531), with whom Wolsey had many dealings during his career. For a full account of the relationship between them, see Jacqueton.

51/11 **the Queene of Naver:** Marguerite d'Orleans, sister of Francis I and Duchess of Alençon, had become Queen of Navarre by her marriage to Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, on 3 January 1526.

51/23 **Souches:** These were Switzers or 'Swissers', hired Swiss mercenaries. Cavendish's form goes back ultimately to the French 'Suisse', Wolsey, in the *State Papers* (I, 207), writes 'Swiches'. Neither form is recorded by the *O.E.D.*

51/31 and 33 Supply 'was' before 'conveyed' in both lines.

51/34 **The next mornyng:** 4 August.

52/6–7 **the kyng . . . hyme:** The cardinal gave his own description of this encounter in a letter to Henry of 9 August (LP, IV, 3337).

52/23–5 **The Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Lorraine, Monsieur de Guise, and Monsieur Vaudemont:** All four of these noblemen were, as Cavendish notes, brothers, and sons of René de Lorraine (d. 1508). Antoine, Duke of Lorraine (d. 1544), the oldest surviving son, succeeded to the title at the age of nineteen. Claude, the second son (d. 1550), had just been created Comte de Guise by Francis I (January 1527) for service done in the king's wars. Jean, the third son (d. 1550), was Cardinal and Archbishop of Reims and Lyon. Louis, the fourth son (d. 1528), was Comte de Vaudemont.

52/25–6 **apparellled . . . Purpull veluett:** John Croke, one of Wolsey's chancery clerks, disagrees about the colour of the king's outer garments. On 21 August (LP, IV, 3369) he wrote to Cromwell that 'the French king . . . did were that day that he met first with my Lord's gra[ce a gown] of black velvet, which was here and there cut and laid [in with] white sarcenet, and tied together with small aglets of go[ld.]'

52/32 **that he . . . horsse:** The 'he' probably refers to Wolsey, whose mule had already given him trouble at Boulogne. On that occasion Wolsey wrote to Henry that he could not describe the pageants presented before him because his mule shied so much during them (LP, IV, 3289).

53/16–17 **The next day:** 5 August. Wolsey's visit took place at three in the afternoon. Francis's 'disease' was a chaffed leg that had already caused him to delay his meeting with Wolsey. The cardinal found it so swelled that the king could not stand (LP, IV, 3317 and 3337).

53/27 ij wekes & more: Wolsey himself remained at Amiens until after 30 August (LP, IV, 3391). He arrived at Compiègne on 1 September (LP, IV, Appendix, no. 117, p. 3122). Francis left Amiens on Monday, 19 August (LP, IV, 3365), so that Cavendish's 'two weeks and more' proves to be fairly exact.

53/28-9 the Assumpcion: 15 August. But Cavendish seems to have confused the activities of that day with the solemn swearing of the peace on 18 August. For the Treaty of Amiens (dated 18 August) see LP, IV, 3356. On the feast of the Assumption Wolsey said mass at Amiens and gave the sacrament to the lady regent (LP, IV, 3369); afterwards he dined with the king. Croke describes the ceremonies of the 18th as follows: "The French king and Regent in one traves, which was passing [lofty and on the] south side of the high altar, and on the north side a little mount of three steps for Wolsey, [on which] was set a cloth of estate and two chairs without any trav[es.]" (LP, IV, 3369). Wolsey himself wrote that he had been to the cathedral with Francis on the 14th for evensong and he noted that there 'were two traverses, one for me, and one for the French king' (LP, IV, 3350). The passage that begins with the words 'And in the feast of the Assumpcion' (53/28-9) and ends with 'as my lord dynd w' hyme' (54/20) is omitted in most of the secondary manuscripts, perhaps for religious reasons.

53/30 de noster dame: Cf. the variant form 'de notre dame' at 51/7.

54/21-2 that the kyng . . . Amyens: Cavendish is in error in reporting that Wolsey and Francis left together. See above (53/27 and n.).

54/25 beyng vppon a ffriday: This must have been Friday, 30 August, for Wolsey was in Compiègne on 1 September. Cavendish, of course, notes the day of the week in order to explain the bit of bad luck that overtook him on his way; like his master, the gentleman-usher may have been somewhat given to 'superstition'—and this despite (or perhaps partly because of) his violent disclaimer later (below, 128/28f.). The 'littill village' was Moreuil, about twelve miles from Amiens and nine from Montdidier.

55/10 monsur Creekey: Jean, sire de Crecqui, who was governor of Montreuil in 1526. He married Jossine de Soissons in 1497 and seems to have died in 1543.

55/29 my lorde of Suffolk: For Suffolk, see above (50/17-18 and n.).

56/24-6 an Englysshe man . . . offence: The Tudor English-

man was quite different in this respect from his more sober descendants of the present day. Cf. Wordsworth's note (pp. 533-4) on this passage, where he cites a letter of Erasmus on this, for the sixteenth century, peculiarly English custom. Note also Whytford's *Pyper of Perfection* (1532, fol. 213^v), 'it bycommeth nat therfore y^e persones religious to vse any touchyng/ nor to folowe the maner of seculer persones/ y^t in theyr congresses/ & commune metynges or departyng done vse to kysse/ take handes/ or such other touchinges that good religious persones: shulde vterly auoyde.' But, later in the *Life* (164/7-8), we find that Wolsey 'kyst barehedyd' my lady Shrewsbury 'and all hir gentilwomen'.

56/25 **Customet**: Possibly an error by Cavendish for 'custom' but perhaps a genuine nonce formation. The *O.E.D.*, which does not list 'customent', records the form 'customhede' from the fourteenth century.

56/34 **ffor she . . . Arde**: i.e. with Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold between Guisnes and Ardres in June 1520.

57/6-7 **that nyght . . . Montdedyer**: Presumably the night of 30 August. Suffolk had laid siege to Montdidier on 27 October 1523; the town surrendered, after a great bombardment, on the 28th. Cavendish (below, 57/9) reached Compiègne on 31 August.

57/32-3 **the Chauncelor of ffraunce**: Antoine Duprat (1463-1535) had been Chancellor of France since 1515 and held that office until his death. After the death of his wife in 1520, he took orders and was made a cardinal by Wolsey in 1527 (below, 63/31-2).

58/3-4 **the leage**: i.e. the treaties of Westminster, signed 30 April 1527. See above (44/18-19 and n.).

58/6-7 **my lord . . . stoutly**: Cavendish is probably wrong in placing this quarrel at Compiègne after the Treaty of Amiens had been signed. The altercation described is almost certainly that which Wolsey related to Henry in a postscript to his letter of 9 August (LP, IV, 3337). The cardinal there speaks of opposition 'between me and the French king's council' that was settled by Madame Regent, who 'came suddenly to my lodging' and 'rated the Chancellor and others soundly' (see below, l. 20, for Louise's visit to Wolsey).

58/25-6 **he hade . . . gyrdell**: Cavendish may well be echoing one of Wolsey's own boasts; Roy's *Rede Me* (p. 114) begs for God's judgement 'Agaynst soche a wicked brothell/[Wolsey] Which sayth/ vnder his girthell/He holdeth Kynges and Princes'.

58/27 the next mornynge: From this point on in his description of the French mission Cavendish's narrative becomes extremely confused. Events are vividly and accurately described, but the order in which they actually occurred is often violated. The *Letters and Papers* are not complete enough to provide a full solution of the difficulties involved here and the following notes, which are based upon them, must be taken as somewhat tentative.

If the conflict with the French Council (see the note to 58/6-7, above) occurred, as Cavendish implies, at Compiègne, then these letters were probably those of 5 September (LP, IV, 3400), which 'Gunner' could have carried. On the other hand, if the quarrel took place, as has been suggested, about 7-8 August at Amiens, then the letters were presumably those of 9 August (LP, IV, 3337) from Amiens. We know that 'Christopher Gunner' (for whom, see below) was back with Wolsey on 13 September and that Wolsey sent him off again to Henry on that day with the news of his return from France in the near future (LP, IV, 3420 and 3422; see below, 63/26, for Gunner's return in Cavendish). The crux of the problem lies in Cavendish's statement 'the next mornynge after this conflycte', which may be erroneous. Wolsey's letter of 5 September is a long one and it would have been urgent, for in it the cardinal showed that he had heard of the dispatching of Knight to the Pope for the first time. Knight reached Compiègne on 10 September and on the 13th mentions Gunner's arrival. There would thus have been time for the courier to leave Wolsey on the 5th and return eight days later with new instructions for Knight. 'Christopher Gunner' was noted for his speed as a messenger (LP, IV, 2828).

'Gunner's' real name was Christopher Morris, Mores, or Morice (1490?-1544) and he had been one of Henry's gunners (Chief Gunner, 4 February 1527) in the Tower since 1513. He was not knighted until 18 October 1539. Cavendish's reference to him as 'Cristofer Gonner' can be paralleled in Hall's account of the role which he played in the raid on Morlaix, July 1522. Hall describes him, within the space of one paragraph (pp. 642-3), as 'Christopher Morres the master Gunner', 'the Gunner', and 'sir Christopher Gunner'.

59/11 The next nyght: Once more Cavendish seems to have confused his sequence of events. This banquet, which was attended by both Francis and his mother, most probably occurred on Monday, 19 August, at Amiens. In LP, IV, 3365, Wolsey writes to Henry that the 'French king, my lady, the king of Navarre, many nobles &

prelates' are to dine with him that night (19 August). He goes on to state that Francis will leave after the dinner to visit certain places in accordance with vows made during his illness (see Cavendish, below, 60/2ff.). The cardinal's words are confirmed by Croke in his letter to Cromwell of 21 August (LP, IV, 3369) where he states that 'after dinner the French king did remove, and, as they sa[y, will] meet with us again at Compiègne'. Cavendish, however, speaks as if the banquet were at Compiègne in the first place and has Francis leaving that town and then returning to it (see below, 60/12, 'Then the kyng Retorned agayn vnto Compigne').

59/14 **madam Reigne**: Renée (1510–1574), daughter of Louis XII and sister of Francis I's queen, Claude, who had died in 1524. Francis was not so much interested in preventing Renée's marriage as in making sure that he did not lose Brittany. In 1515 he had arranged to marry her to Charles of Burgundy and he was not opposed to Wolsey's scheme whereby she might marry Henry VIII (see below, 62/9). She was eventually married to Hercule d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, on 28 June 1528; under the terms of the marriage contract, both she and the Duke renounced all claim to Brittany and received instead Chartres, Gisors, and Montargis.

59/25–6 **the kyng of Naverne**: Henri d'Albret (1503–1555). For his marriage to Francis' sister, Marguerite, see above (51/11 and n.).

59/34–5 **oon madame ffountayn**: Certainty with regard to the identity of this young lady is probably impossible. I can only suggest that she may have been Marie, the daughter of Jacques de Fontaines (d. 1548?) by his second wife, Guyonne de Belloy, whom he married in 1508. Marie was married in 1530 to Thibaut d'Amfreville, Seigneur de Maizières. Her family was from Picardy.

60/6 **Shalme**: The shawm was 'a medieval musical instrument of the oboe class, having a double reed enclosed in a globular mouth-piece' (O.E.D.).

60/14 **huntyng . . . wyld Swyne**: We have two letters from Sir Anthony Browne to Henry VIII that relate to hunting in France during the 1527 embassy. The first (LP, IV, 3368) was written from Amiens on 21 August and mentions that Browne had been deer hunting with Francis on the 16th. The second (LP, IV, 3437) from Montdidier on 18 September, speaks of Francis's offer to supply Henry with some wild swine. Boar hunting, according to Lavissee (*Histoire*, V, i, 188–9), was much esteemed by Francis I: 'À la chasse, un jour, François I^{er} luttâ seul contre un sanglier. Cet exploit fournit plus tard une matière inépuisable à la chronique, à la poésie, à la

peinture. Hercule, le sanglier de Calydon, tout l'attirail mythologique s'y mêla pour l'illustrer.' Cavendish's boar hunt seems to have occurred near Compiègne, probably between 5 and 17 September.

60/26 **Armed . . . greyhounds**: It was apparently the French custom to arm their dogs against the tusks of the *sanglier*. I have not been able to discover any exact description of the armour employed for this purpose, but it may be noted that de Mersan, in his *Manuel du Chasseur* (Paris, 1821, p. 176) defines a 'chien armé' as being so named 'quand il est couvert pour l'attaque du sanglier'.

61/17 **mr Ratclyfe**: Henry Radcliffe (1506?–1557) was the son of the 'auncyent gentilman' whom Cavendish mentions in his closing scene (below, 186/21). He became Earl of Sussex on 26 November 1542. For the importance of this passage in the dating of the autograph manuscript, see Introduction, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

61/20–1 (**the boore . . . chaffed**): 'The construction would be clearer if the parentheses were to enclose only 'beyng sore chaffed'.

62/5–6 **a certyn boke**: I have not been able to discover any reference to the book which Cavendish describes here. It would seem to have been written in French and published in France. It is not unlikely that the French 'boke' was actually a pamphlet, or perhaps even a broadside against the cardinal. Wolsey may have been able to have the entire edition suppressed and destroyed. We know that he had had agents on the Continent since the first printing of Tyndale's *Testament* in 1526 and that they were very effective. See Arber's Preface to Roy's *Rede Me*.

62/8 **too mariages**: For the proposed marriage between Henry VIII and Renée, see Pollard (p. 222) and Mackie (p. 323). The seventh article of the Treaty of Amiens (LP, IV, 3356) arranges for Mary's marriage to the Duke of Orleans. The subject had been agreed upon in the preceding April at Westminster, when it was arranged that if Francis himself, already engaged to Eleanor, the sister of the emperor, could not marry Henry's daughter, then she was to be given to the Duke.

62/13 **at this present kyng of ffrauce**: For Henry II, see above (43/16 and n.); since he died in 1559, this passage accords with Cavendish's statement that he finished his book on 24 June 1558.

62/19–20 **the people . . . there**: Hall (p. 728) tells us 'that for what cause the cardinal went into France no person knew but the king until his return' and reports some of the rumours that were afloat.

62/30 The secondary manuscripts begin again at this point with

'sedicius ontreuthe, etc.' after having omitted everything from 61/19-20, 'a fynne boore spere'. See Appendix E.

63/25-6 **the retourne of Crystopher Gunner**: Probably 13 September; see above (58/27 and n.).

63/35 **my lord Sandes**: For Sandys, see above (26/8 and n.).

64/1 **to Calice**: Wolsey reached Calais and sailed from there on 24 September (LP, IV, 3341 and 3594). For the establishment of the mart, see above (46/15 and n.).

64/10-11 **sir harre wyates howsse**: Hall tells us that Wolsey came to the king at *Richmond* on 30 September (p. 732). Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, says that Wolsey went 'immediately' to the king at Richmond when he returned and also tells the story of how Anne demanded that she be present at the first interview between Henry and his minister. The king granted her wish, thus letting Wolsey surmise something of what had happened during his mission abroad (*Spanish Calendar*, 1527-9, p. 432). Cavendish seems to have confused the years 1527 and 1528 when he says that Wolsey returned to Henry at Wyatt's house, for it was in 1528 that the king visited the father of the poet (*D.N.B.*). Sir Henry Wyatt (d. 1537) stood high in the royal favour under Henry VII and Henry VIII. His house in Kent was Allington Castle, near Maidstone.

64/20 **an assemble . . . starre Chamber**: Wolsey's 'Oracion' on this occasion is reported by Hall (p. 733) in terms very close to those which Cavendish uses; but the chronicler says that Wolsey actually displayed a French seal printed in fine gold as if the league had already been confirmed.

64/32 **the Duchye of Normandy**: The Treaty of Amiens (Leonard, II, 277ff., for the text) does not mention the Duchy of Normandy, but it does stipulate that Francis is to pay Henry a sum of 50,000 écus annually. The freedom which English merchants were to enjoy in France is also noted in the Treaty (Leonard, II, 282; see below, 65/11ff.).

65/32 **Thys greate ambassett**: Francis I issued his commission to his ambassadors on 25 September (LP, IV, 3449); the envoys included Montmorency, the Grand Master; Du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne; Brinon, President of Rouen; and the Sieur d'Humieres, King's Chamberlain. The mission reached Dover on 13 October (LP, IV, 3494) and arrived in London on 20 October (Hall, p. 733). Cavendish's 'four score persons' is reduced by Hall to sixty.

66/5 **wyne . . . mottons**: Hall (pp. 733-4), who also says that the Frenchmen stayed at the bishop's palace, reports that 'the citezens of

London presented them with. v. fat oxen, xx. shepe, xii. Swannes, xii. Cranes, xii. Fesantz, iiiii. dosyn Partiches, xx. loaues of Suger, Comfettes & other spyce and waxe, and. viii. hoggesheades of wyne with many other thinges which I cannot reherse.'

66/7 the next Sunday: Since the 20th of October (the day the embassy arrived) fell on a Sunday, this would have been the 27th. Hall is probably correct when he says (p. 734) 'tewsday' the 22nd, although he gives the wrong month. Cavendish belies his own account when he writes (66/18-19) that the king 'sent incontynent vnto the frenche kyng the lyke order of England'. We know (LP, IV, 3508) that the royal commission was dated 22 October, from Greenwich.

66/19 the Erle of wyltshere: A double error on Cavendish's part. Thomas Boleyn was not created Earl of Wiltshire until December 1529 and he was not sent on this mission. Its members were Viscount Lisle, John Taylor, Nicholas Carew, Anthony Browne, and Thomas Wriothesley. Francis I acknowledged receipt of the Garter on 10 November (LP, IV, 3565 and 3574). Cavendish repeats his mistake with regard to Boleyn's earldom at 87/1-2; see also his erroneous list of Boleyn's preferments (above, 29/13ff.).

66/21 Garter the harold: Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534), Garter King of Arms from 1505 until his death and brother of William Wriothesley, the father of the first Earl of Southampton. Thomas Wriothesley, the first Earl, is mentioned later by Cavendish (below, 139/15).

66/26 a Solompne masse: 1 November 1527 (Hall, p. 734).

67/4 the Graund m^r: Anne de Montmorency, first Duke of Montmorency (1493-1567). He had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia with Francis I and was appointed Grand Master after the king's return from captivity in 1526.

67/25-6 my lord . . . Supper: Hall has a lengthy description of the banquet given by the king on 10 November, but does not mention Wolsey's. The cardinal's must have taken place between 1 November and 10 November.

69/13-14 all the rest . . . yomen: Apparently 'one chamber was better than another [with regard to its hangings] and all of them were furnished with tall yeomen'.

72/11-12 who entendyd . . . same: There is no extant evidence for the cardinal's feast outside of Cavendish's account. As far as can be judged from the materials available, it would seem that the king's banquet in the tiltyard at Greenwich (Hall, p. 735 and Gibson's

Revels Accounts, LP, IV, 3563) was designed to glorify Wolsey to the highest degree. Hall tells us that the play which was performed depicted the cardinal releasing the Pope from bondage, but it would seem that his source of information was somewhat faulty. According to the Revels Accounts MS. (quoted by Collier, I, 107), the 'enterlude' to which Cavendish (below, 73/5) refers 'was a Latin Moral, in which Luther and his wife were brought upon the stage, and in which ridicule was attempted to be thrown upon them, and the Reformers. It was acted by the children of St. Paul's School under the regulation of their master, John Rightwise, who was most likely the author of the piece presented.' According to Herford (p. 106) this was 'the earliest instance of an original performance in Latin in England—apart, of course, from those of early mysteries'. It would appear that Cavendish is in error when he says that it was in both Latin and French.

73/7–8 **this don . . . gentilwomen**: Cavendish speaks of three different companies of maskers (see 'an other maske', below, ll. 17 and 20) where Hall (p. 735) says there were four separate groups.

74/5 **to take . . . kyng**: According to Hall, the embassy left on 11 November. Montmorency wrote to Wolsey from Boulogne, telling him of their arrival there, on the 15th (LP, IV, 3580).

74/11–12 **the kynges . . . reward**: Robert Amadas the goldsmith presented his bill for a portion of this reward on 19 May 1528. Collier (I, 105) reprints the list of items, which amounted to almost 3,000 ounces of plate.

74/33–4 **the matter . . . Cardenall**: Wolsey was certainly aware of the king's desire for a divorce by the spring of 1527, if not before. Cavendish, who does not seem to have known of the cardinal's efforts on the king's behalf both before and during the French embassy, probably picked up the tale of Wolsey's 'perswasion vppon his knees' from his deathbed speech at Leicester Abbey (below, 179/16–17).

75/14–15 **Than assembled . . . westminster**: Wolsey called this consistory at his house on 17 May 1527 (LP, IV, 3140). Once more Cavendish confuses the order of events in his narrative.

75/22–4 **in Conclusion . . . Iugement**: The passage is difficult to construe. If 'Auncyent fathers of the lawes' (l. 23) refers, as is most likely, to the men 'of long experyence' (above, ll. 13–14) and not to the patristic Church Fathers, then the best paraphrase would seem to run as follows: 'It seemed to me that by the time the session broke up ["by the departure"] the Counsellors were all of one mind [against

the king].’ But Cavendish may be playing on the several meanings of ‘departure’, for which see the glossary.

75/32–3 **all the vnyuersites**: Henry’s appeal to the Universities of Europe was not made until *after* the divorce trial of 1529.

76/4 **And thervyppon agreed**: i.e. and thereupon it was agreed.

76/14–15 **mony . . . Clarkes**: Henry’s agents often resorted to bribery in their efforts to win over the Universities to the king’s side. See Hughes (I, 215–17) for a summary of their activities. Cavendish is right in the main when he says that the commissioners were ‘euer in great estymacion’. Dr. John Stokesley, who, together with Richard Croke, was sent to Italy, later became Bishop of London. Croke himself was made sub-dean of Cardinal College, Oxford. Edward Foxe, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, was sent to Paris and Cranmer, who had originated the idea of appealing to the Universities, went to Germany. Only Reginald Pole, who was sent to Paris with Foxe, received no benefits from his role in the affair. He was shortly to become an exile and later returned to England as Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury under Mary.

76/26–7 **Sent agayn . . . bysshoppes**: There is no evidence to suggest that the long campaign which king and cardinal waged for the appointment of a papal legate who, with Wolsey, would decide on the validity of Henry’s marriage to Catherine, was planned and executed on the advice of the bishops. Wolsey held no further convocation after that of May 1527, but instead directed his agents at Rome to press for the appointment of the legate. Clement VII finally granted the commission on 8 June 1528 (LP, IV, 4345).

77/8–9 **ac vice tantum**: i.e. *hac vice tantum* ‘for this occasion only’; a special court as opposed to one which met at regular intervals.

77/9–10 **Cardynall Campegius**: Lorenzo Campeggio (1472–1539) had been in England in 1518 as legate de latere and had received the bishopric of Salisbury in 1524, not in 1518, as Cavendish states. Cavendish’s reference to him as ‘bysshope of Bathe’ probably stems from the fact that, while in London, he occupied the house of John Clerk, who was then in possession of that see. Clerk was greatly disturbed when informed that Campeggio should stay at his house. His letter to Gardiner (LP, IV, 4753; see also 4754 and 4768) amply testifies to his irritation.

77/21 **Long . . . desier**: Campeggio reached Dover on 28 September. Hall (p. 753) describes his arrival as follows: ‘& so this Cardinal Campeius by long iorneyes came into England & much preparacion was made to receiue him triumphantly into London, but he was so

sore vexed with the goute that he refused all suche solempnities, & desired hartely that he might without pompe be conueyed to his lodging for his more quiet & rest, & so the ix. day of October he came from saint Mary Ouereys by water to the bishop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the last tyme he was in England'. Campeggio's own account of his journey is in LP, IV, 4857.

78/1-2 **the kyng . . . Bridewell**: Cavendish passes over without comment the complex series of events that took place between the coming of Campeggio and the actual calling of the court for the trial in May 1529. The account of the trial that follows is compressed in Cavendish's usual manner: Catherine read a formal speech of protestation on 18 June; she appeared in the court again on 21 June and on that day made a speech like that with which Cavendish credits her. She then left the court immediately and Henry's reply followed her departure (Hughes, I, 187-8).

79/6-7 **Quia peccauimus . . .**: Ps. cv, 6 (*A.V.*, cvi, 6), 'Pec-cavimus cum patribus nostris: iniuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus.'

79/16 **Doctor Stephens**: Stephen Gardiner (1497?-1555), at this time still Wolsey's secretary but soon (28 July 1529) to be taken into the king's service. He became Bishop of Winchester in November 1531. It was customary to refer to secretaries by their Christian names (see below, l. 25, 'doctor Peter' for Peter Vannes). Gardiner was not at the opening of the trial; he returned from Rome on the evening of 22 June and thereafter took a large part in the proceedings.

79/17 **oon Cooke**: The fullest account of this 'Cooke of Winchester' is contained in the preface to the Canterbury and York Society's edition of Wolsey's *Winchester Register*. He was John Cooke, a notary public of the Winchester diocese, who had been made registrar on 10 December 1524.

79/22 **Doctor Sampson**: Richard Sampson (d. 1554), a former chaplain of Wolsey's and his chancellor at Tournai from 1514 to 1517. He had declined Wolsey's offer to make him head of his household in 1519 and had instead gone into the king's service. One of Henry's chief agents during the divorce proceedings, he was rewarded with the bishopric of Chichester in June 1536.

79/23 **Doctor Bell**: John Bell (d. 1556), Dean of the Arches at the Lateran Council and afterwards chaplain to Henry VIII. He was constantly employed by the king on the divorce between 1527 and 1529. He became Bishop of Worcester on 11 August 1537.

79/25 **doctor Peter**: Peter Vannes (d. 1562), born at Lucca, Italy,

had come to England in 1513 as an assistant to Andrea Ammonio, Latin Secretary to the king. After Ammonio's death in 1517, he came under Wolsey's protection and was frequently employed on Italian diplomatic missions. The *Letters and Papers* do not give the date at which he became Latin Secretary to the king, but he held the post on into the reign of Elizabeth. The *D.N.B.* apparently follows Cavendish when it says that Vannes was a proctor at the divorce trial. That this is an error is shown by the official correspondence, which proves him to have been in Rome at this time. See his autograph letter of 10 July 1529 in Pocock (I, 259-61).

79/26 **Doctor Tregonell**: Sir John Tregonwell (d. 1565), an admiralty lawyer after receiving his D.C.L. from Oxford in 1522. Henry VIII soon took him into his service and he proved his usefulness on numerous occasions during the rest of the king's reign.

79/27-8 **Doctor ffissher**: Bishop John Fisher's (1450?-1535) role in the divorce proceedings is too well known to require much comment here. Long an opponent of Wolsey and Queen Catherine's confessor, he was the only bishop to oppose the divorce. Pope Paul III made him a cardinal on 20 May 1535, while he was in prison for denying the royal supremacy; this action probably infuriated Henry VIII into executing him at Tower Hill on 22 June of that year. The anonymous *Life of Fisher* (see Van Ortroty's edition) contains ample testimony to the lamentations which Cavendish notes as arising in Western Europe after his death.

79/28 **Doctor Standysshe**: Henry Standish (d. 1535), one of the king's spiritual counsellors, became Bishop of St. Asaph on 28 May 1518. He spoke against the divorce after Fisher on 29 June 1529, but was distrusted by the Queen. Later he assisted at Anne's coronation and, on 1 June 1535, formally renounced the Pope.

79/34-80/1 **doctor Rydley**: Robert Ridley (d. 1536), the uncle of Nicholas Ridley, the Protestant martyr under Mary. After receiving his D.D. from Cambridge in 1518, he held a number of London benefices and was generally esteemed as 'a man of learning and an opponent of the Reformation' (*D.N.B.*).

80/15 **she sayd in effect**: The words which Cavendish puts into the queen's mouth are remarkably close to those reported by Hall and William Forrest. See Appendices A and C. Hall (pp. 755-6) does not represent Catherine's speech as having occurred at the trial itself but instead assigns it to an interview which she had with the legates before the proceedings commenced. The text of her prepared

appeal, which she read three days before her speech, can be found in Pocock (I, 219–22).

80/34 **this xx^{ti} yeris**: Almost to the day. Catherine and Henry had been married on 11 June 1509; her speech was delivered on 21 June 1529.

81/4 **a true mayed**: Catherine continued to insist on this point throughout the divorce proceedings. Her statement, which was never denied by Henry, was in direct contradiction to many of the depositions that were made during the trial (LP, IV, 5774 for the depositions). Campeggio notes the queen's insistence on her virginity in a letter of 16 June (LP, IV, 5681).

81/15 **fferdynando**: Ferdinand of Aragon (d. 1516).

81/28 **ffor ye . . . Answer**: The legates accepted the queen's protest on Friday, 18 June, but ruled, on the 21st, that it was invalid and that they had legal jurisdiction in the case. On 23 June Henry wrote that the queen, 'Being thrice summoned to appear without effect . . . was pronounced contumax, and cited to appear on Friday next' (LP, IV, 5707). But Catherine never returned to the court.

82/11 **Generall receyvour**: The *O.E.D.* lists the title 'general-receiver' as a variant of 'receiver-general' and defines it as 'a chief receiver, esp. of public revenues'. But Griffith here seems to have functioned as a sort of 'master of ceremonies' as well as treasurer for the Queen.

82/11–12 **m^r Griffithe**: Mattingly (pp. 47–9 and 287) identifies 'Griffithe' with Griffith ap Rhys, the son of Rice ap Thomas (d. 1527); but this Griffith, who had been an attendant upon Prince Arthur, was presumably dead by 1527 when Rice ap Thomas's grandson inherited the family estates (cf. *Cambrian Register*, 3 vols., London, 1796, I, 49–144). The *Letters and Papers* (IV, 2972 and 6121) show that Cavendish's 'Griffithe' was rather a certain Griffin or Griffith Richardes, but I have been unable to obtain any further information about Catherine's receiver-general.

82/22–3 **said thus in effect**: Cavendish's words closely resemble those reported by Hall both at the trial and at the Bridewell assembly of 8 November 1528, when Henry had justified himself to 'his nobilitie, Iudges, and counsaylors with divers other persons' (Hall, p. 754). Catherine had issued a formal protest against the proceedings on 7 November (Hughes, I, 180). See Appendix C.

82/29–30 Supply a comma after 'condicyons' and 'they' before 'woll'.

82/33-4 for I . . . **herein**: Mackie (p. 322) cites a long list of contemporary statements to illustrate this point. He concludes that 'contemporary opinion must have believed that Wolsey was the author of the divorce'. Cavendish's own belief that the cardinal was innocent of the charge was perhaps based on the king's public support of his minister during this scene.

83/5 **the Bysshope of Biean**: The Bishop of Bayonne at this time was Jean du Bellay (d. 1560), to whom Joachim du Bellay, his second cousin, dedicated *La Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française* in 1549. Du Bellay was French ambassador to Henry VIII, but Cavendish is in error when he refers to him as heading the embassy of 1527. The marriage negotiations of that spring were conducted by Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes. Henry's explanation of his 'scruples' is branded as a lie by Hughes (I, 157). Mackie, on the other hand, considers it 'quite conceivable'. There is no mention of any objection in the minute account of the embassy which was kept by its secretary (LP, IV, pp. 1397-1415).

83/13 **prynce Arthure**: Catherine and Arthur were married on 14 November 1501. Arthur died five months later on 2 April 1502.

84/7 **my lord of lyncolne**: John Longland (1473-1547) became Bishop of Lincoln on 5 May 1521. Both Harpsfield (p. 175, following Roper, p. 31) and the author of the *Life of Fisher* (ed. Van Ortro, X, 293) implicate Longland in the early plans for the divorce. Henry's own account of the matter, as recorded here by Cavendish, seems to be substantially correct. It is perhaps true that Wolsey tried to force Longland to further the king's wishes, but the bishop himself denied that this was so and later affirmed to his chaplain that he sorely repented having given his consent in the matter (Van Ortro, X, 291-2, n. 2).

84/13-14 **writing . . . seales**: Van Ortro (X, 323, note 1) cites a document from Rymer's *Foedera* (ed. Holmes, t. VI, p. i, p. 119) of 1 July 1529 in which the Bishops of London, Rochester, Carlisle, Ely, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bath, and Canterbury all recognize that the king has consulted them and certify their consent to the divorce proceedings. This would seem to place the date of the scene here described by Cavendish after 1 July and not before it. Fisher's denial that he had subscribed to such a document is paralleled by a manuscript in the Record Office (LP, IV, 5729) which, according to the Calendar, contains 'a very bitter reply to Fisher, who has corrected some of the King's statements in his own hand in the margin: among others, that he had approved of the reasons for the King's

divorce; to which he answers, "Non haec dixi: Certe Cardinalis voluit ut haec dixissem."

84/18 **no hathe/ q^d the kyng**: The secondary manuscripts all corrupt this passage to 'No, ha! q^d the king,' thus indicating that their scribes did not understand the original. Singer (I, 157) has the illogical 'No! ha' the!' This type of phrase was apparently not uncommon in the sixteenth century. *John Bon and Mast Person* (1548-1550, p. 3) has 'No dyd' and John Bridges's *Sermon at Paul's Cross* (1571, p. 128) has 'No is'. I owe these references to Professor F. P. Wilson of the University of Oxford. Note also Henry's somewhat similar 'yea can' (below, 184/13). Further examples are cited by W. Franz, *Die Sprache Shakespeares* (4th ed., Halle 1939) § 409.

85/8 **The next court day**: Apparently 29 June when, according to a letter of Campeggio (LP, IV, 5732), Fisher appeared and stated that the marriage could not be dissolved by any power, human or divine.

85/19 **to be very doubtfull**: i.e. were very doubtful.

85/24-5 **Q^d deus . . . separet**: Matthew xix, 6; Mark x, 9.

86/9 and 13-14 **this honorable persons, this abhomyneable presumcyons**: Cf. above (80/34) 'this xx^u yeres'. On the form 'this' for 'these' see *O.E.D.* s.v. *These*.

86/25 **the bysshope of Carelyle**: John Kite (d. 1537), Bishop of Carlisle from 12 July 1521. He seems to have been a good friend of Wolsey and was certainly indebted to him for some of his promotions.

87/5-7 **that he . . . Bridwell**: There is no other evidence for this visit of the cardinals to the queen, but it is certain that they were continually endeavouring to persuade her to comply with the king's wishes. The scene is somewhat similar to that described by Hall (pp. 755-6) as having occurred in the previous November. Cavendish's reference to Thomas Boleyn as 'my lord of wyltchere' (above, ll. 1-2) is anachronistic (see above, 66/19 and n.).

87/19-20 **that was . . . matter**: i.e. of what was likely to ensue with regard to this matter.

89/8 **Atwche day**: Campeggio prorogued the court until 1 October on 23 July. The news had not yet reached England that on 15 July the Pope had revoked the case to Rome (LP, IV, 5777, 5780, and 5791). The legate's postponement was in accordance with the practice of the Roman Curia, which did not sit from the end of July until October, but the point of his action was not missed by the king.

The general tenor of Campeggio's speech certainly reflects his attitude toward the case.

90/24 **the Duke of Suffolk:** Hall (p. 758) reports this scene as follows: 'Charles Duke of Suffolke, seeyng the delay, gaue a great clappe on the Table with his hande and said: by the Masse, now I see that the olde saied sawe is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardynall, that did good in Englande and with that sayng all the Temporall Lordes departed to the King.' Cavendish is the sole authority for Wolsey's reply to the Duke and one may doubt, with Pollard (pp. 109 and 234) that any answer was actually given. Wolsey's reference to an occasion when Suffolk had owed his life to him would seem to allude to the Duke's brief period of disfavour after his marriage to Henry's sister in 1515. Fiddes (p. 95) attempted to show that Wolsey's intercession with the king had saved the Duke's life, but the letters which he cites are not completely convincing.

91/8 **the kynges Commyssioner:** Wolsey's words can be taken as an ironic allusion to Suffolk's conduct in 1515, when he had been sent 'as the kynges Commyssioner in a fforayn Region' to bring Mary, Henry VIII's sister, back to England after the death of Louis XII. On that occasion Suffolk had not waited for any word from Henry but had instead proceeded impetuously into a marriage of which the king disapproved (see above, 50/17-18 and n.).

91/29 **Thys matter contynued, etc.:** Cavendish's description of the sequence of events between the prorogation of the court and the visit of the two cardinals to the king at Grafton is extremely confused. Most of the happenings which he narrates had occurred before the commencement of the trial: thus the Pope did not 'take delyberacion in respeyght of Iugeme", but instead, after revoking the case to Rome, cited Henry to appear there (Hughes, I, 218); Cavendish's reference to 'Bartholmewetyd next' (24 August) is rendered meaningless by the fact that the papal courts would not have opened in any event until October; Gardiner was not sent on any new embassy to the Pope (he had been in Rome from January to June 1529) but instead became the king's secretary and was with him for the rest of the year.

92/15-16 **the grece season:** The 'grease season' for deer was the time when the harts were fat and fit for killing. *O.E.D.* (s.v. Grease 1.b.) says that this was from August until the middle of October.

92/20-1 **that the Cardynall . . . Grafton:** Wolsey had not been invited to the court during the royal progresses which followed upon

the termination of the trial. Campeggio had a good deal of difficulty securing permission for him to attend at Grafton on 19 September, when the Italian legate took his farewell of the king.

92/31-2 **yet for as myche . . . effect:** Cavendish seems to imply that Henry could not treat Campeggio as he did Wolsey because the Italian cardinal was a foreigner and thus was entitled to special considerations of hospitality. Note the 'hyme oonly' of l. 34 below.

93/3 **no lodgyng . . . Court:** Chapuys, the Spanish ambassador, whose account of this meeting between the cardinals and Henry confirms Cavendish's in many details, says that it was the Duke of Suffolk who took care to provide that Wolsey should not be lodged in the palace (*Spanish Calendar*, 1529-30, pp. 253 and 257).

93/4 **Sir herre Norreys:** Henry Norris (d. 1536) had come to the court as a youth and was soon intimate with the king. He took sides against Wolsey at an early date and was looked upon as one of Anne's adherents. His devotion to her was proved in 1536 when he suffered death as a traitor rather than confess that he had had intercourse with her. It is Norris who brings the king's ring to Wolsey after his fall (below, 101/30ff.); he also figures as one of the mourners in Cavendish's poems (II, 25).

94/9 **I hard . . . :** Pollard (pp. 237-8) conjectures that Henry here confronted Wolsey with documentary proof of the cardinal's private dealings with Francis I, Campeggio, and the Pope. Such evidence could perhaps have been provided by Gardiner at his return from Rome on 22 June. Wolsey's apparent pacification of the king at this juncture is scarcely borne out by the events of the next month.

94/16-17 **the kyng . . . Anne Boleyn:** Cavendish is the only authority for the ensuing conversation between the king and Anne, but there can be little doubt of the enmity that existed between her and the cardinal at this date.

94/23 **my lord of Norffolk:** Thomas Howard II, Earl of Surrey and third Duke of Norfolk (1473-1554), whose father had opposed Wolsey in the council when the cardinal-to-be first rose to power. He was Anne's uncle and the leader of the opposition to Wolsey at the court. Although his power was great immediately after the cardinal's fall, he never achieved the complete control at which he aimed and narrowly escaped death for treason during the last days of the king's reign when his son, the poet Surrey, was executed.

94/27 **Wynchester:** For Wolsey's acquisition of Winchester, see above (17/33 and n.).

95/8 **a lone**: Cavendish's statement must refer to the loan of 1522, which had not been repaid in 1529, when the Parliament reluctantly turned it into a gift. See Pollard, pp. 132-3.

96/8 **Eston**: Cavendish's detail is confirmed by a letter from Thomas Alford, a former servant of Wolsey's, to Cromwell on 23 September 1529 (LP, IV, 5953). Alford writes that both 'my Lord and the Legate returned to their lodgings at Empson's Place' on the evening of 19 September. It would seem, however, that Campeggio actually stayed at the palace, as Cavendish states (see Pollard's note, p. 238). This Empson was Thomas Empson, the eldest son of Sir Richard (above, 11/25 and n.). His father's estates had been restored to him by an act of 4 Henry VIII and he seems to have been in favour with the king.

96/15 **Doctor Stephyns**: Wolsey, if not Cavendish, must have known that Gardiner had returned from Rome on 22 June, for several letters passed between them during the summer (Pollard, pp. 234-7). It may be true, however, that the cardinal suspected Gardiner of having betrayed him to the king. On 18 September the French ambassador Du Bellay wrote that Wolsey had been betrayed by some of his protégés, a statement that Pollard takes as 'certainly' referring to Gardiner (LP, IV, 5945).

96/32 **The next mornnyng**: Alford's letter (LP, IV, 5953) reports that Wolsey was in council with the king on the morning of 20 September and that the king went hunting in the afternoon. Hall's account (p. 759) agrees exactly with Cavendish's except for the references to Anne Boleyn. On 17 October Du Bellay wrote to Montmorency describing the cardinal's state just before his fall. He noted that 'the worst of his evil is that Mademoiselle de Boulen has made her friend promise that he will never give him a hearing, for she thinks he could not help having pity upon him' (LP, IV, 6011).

97/17 **Campagious . . . Rome**: The cardinal left London on 5 October (LP, IV, 5995) but was held up at Dover, as Du Bellay wrote, 'on pretence of want of ships . . . for fear he carries off the treasure of the cardinal of York' (LP, IV, 6003). Campeggio's baggage was searched at Dover (not Calais as Cavendish, below, l. 24, has it), according to Hall (p. 759) 'to se what letters the Cardinal of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome'. The real purpose behind the search seems to have been Henry's desire to get hold of the decretal commission that Campeggio had brought to England but had long since destroyed. The whole story of this bull is fraught with mystery, but it seems to have granted full power in the divorce question to

Campeggio and Wolsey, thus enabling them to proceed to a decision. But Clement VII had stipulated to Campeggio that the decretal was to be shown to the king and Wolsey and then destroyed. For a full account of the matter, see Hughes (I, 176). Campeggio did not sail until 26 October.

97/17-18 **the kynges reward**: The reward which Campeggio received from the king was a considerable one, as is shown by the 'Treasurer of the Chamber's accounts (LP, V, pp. 303-26) of the expenses necessitated by his departure. His secretary, 'Mr. Florian', received £112 10s. in September 1529 (p. 315); there are three separate payments to Robert Amadas, the goldsmith, 'for plate delivered to Campeggio.' In October the amount was £39 18s. 0½d.; on 9 November Amadas received £200; and on 13 December he was paid an apparently final sum of £169 15s. 6d. (pp. 315-16).

97/30 **terme began**: Michaelmas Term began on 9 October in 1529.

97/34-98/1 **expectyng . . . Norfolk**: Cavendish seems to have compressed two weeks into one at this point in his narrative. The Dukes came for the seal on 17 October, not 11 October; when refused, they returned on the 18th. Dr. Taylor, the Master of the Rolls, delivered the seal to the king on 20 October at Windsor. Wolsey had ample reason to 'expect' the arrival of the Dukes, for on 9 October a bill of indictment for praemunire had been presented in the king's bench.

98/4 **Assher**: Wolsey had begged this palace at Esher from Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, in 1519 and had officially acquired it for himself when he succeeded Foxe in 1528.

98/32 **to take accompte**: The inventory taken here is calendared in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, pp. 2763-70).

100/1 **sir w^m Gascoyn**: Sir William Gascoigne, the grandfather of the Elizabethan poet and the founder of the family fortunes. He had been Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1507, 1514, and 1516 and was knighted by Henry VIII. After Wolsey's fall Gascoigne retired to his estate at Cardington, but he was soon back in service again in the household of John Neville, Lord Latimer. See C. T. Prouty's *George Gascoigne* (New York, 1942), pp. 9-10.

100/20 **And toke his barge**: Hall (p. 760) tells us that Wolsey 'toke his barge, and went to Putney by Water, and there toke his horse and rode to Asher, where he remained til Lent after' but he does not give the date of the removal. Chapuys (*Spanish Calendar*, 1529-30, p. 304) writes on 25 October that a ring had been sent to

the cardinal; his letter presumably refers to Norris's message (below, 101 ff.).

103/28-9 **I ame . . . chapleyn**: The sense is clearer if we omit Cavendish's comma after 'obedyent'. Wolsey had used words very similar to these in a letter to the king which he wrote about 8-9 October (*State Papers*, I, 347). He there signed himself 'your most prostrate poor chaplain, T. Car^{lis} Ebor., miserimus.'

104/4-5 **this poore foole**: A gloss in one of the secondary manuscripts (Douce 363, fol. 72) reports that the 'fole was called master Williames: owtherwise called Patch. geven to y^e kinge from the Cardinall'. A series of anecdotes about Wolsey's fool will be found in John Doran's *The History of Court Fools* (London, 1858), pp. 132-4 and 140-1; he turns up again in Rowley's chronicle play (1605) *When You See Me You Know Me*. Patch is mentioned as in the king's service on 22 January 1530 (Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expences*, p. 19; LP, V, pp. 748, 750, and 752).

104/9 **fired**: Most of the secondary manuscripts read 'for the poor fool took on like a tyrant', thus missing the significance of Cavendish's metaphor.

104/22 **the bysshope of Carlylle, sir Thomas Arundell**: For the bishop see above (86/25 and n.). Sir Thomas Arundell (d. 1552) had, like the Earl of Northumberland, been brought up in Wolsey's household and was one of the cardinal's gentlemen of the privy chamber. Cavendish represents him later in his poems (II, 125).

104/28 **master Cromwell**: The rise of Thomas Cromwell (1485?-1540) in the royal favour after the fall of Wolsey is too well known to require comment here. Good accounts can be found in Merriman's *Life and Letters* and in Hughes (I, 223-7).

105/3 **my onhappie Adventure**: A letter to Cromwell from Stephen Vaughan, his agent at Antwerp, of 30 October 1529 informs him that he is more hated for his master's sake than for any wrong that he has done to anyone (Merriman, I, 65). Cromwell's role in the suppression of monasteries, the revenues of which were to build Wolsey's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, had a great deal to do with the popular disfavour in which he was held at this time.

105/9-10 **all thynges . . . taken**: Cromwell voices his belief that the right or wrong of an action is dependent not upon the action itself but upon the interpretation that people place upon it. He fears 'guilt by association'. For 'taken' cf. the *O.E.D.* quotation (s.v. *Take* v. 42) from Latimer (1553): 'There is a common saying amongst

us . . . Everything is (say they) as it is taken, which indeed is not so: for every thing is as it is, howsoever it be taken.'

105/12-14 **I neuer . . . lyvyng**: Certainly a gross misrepresentation on Cromwell's part. Wolsey had made him collector of revenues for York as early as 1514 and by 1527 almost all of the cardinal's legal business was passing through his hands. Cromwell repeats this statement at 109/23-5.

105/16 **make or marre**: Cavendish later notes this phrase as characteristic of Cromwell (below, 110/8). William Forrest's *Governance of Princes* (see Macray's *Grisild the Second*, pp. 182-3) has a somewhat puzzling passage on what Forrest calls the 'game' of making and marring:

The world is chaunged from that it hathe beene,
Not to the bettre but to the warsse farre;
More for a peny we haue before seene
Then nowe for fowre pense, whoe liste to compare:
'This suethe the game called *Makinge or Marre*;
Unto the riche it makethe a great deale.
But muche it marrethe to the Commune weale.

Macray (p. 194) notes that such a game was actually prohibited by statute (2 and 3 Philip and Mary, 1555, cap. 9), but can give no description of it. The meaning of Cromwell's 'make or mar' is at any rate obvious.

105/24 **doctor Marshall**: Wolsey wrote from Esher (LP, IV, 6261, no date) that he had sent Dr. Marshall to the king with his seal to give up some York benefices and collate others. This was evidently Cuthbert Marshall (d. 1550), who took his D.D. at Cambridge in 1523 and was prebendary of York from 1526 to 1550. See Cooper, *Athenae*, I, 97 and 538.

106/28 **yo^r Idell chapleyns**: In Cavendish's poems (II, 18) Wolsey speaks of his

. . . vicious chapleyns walking by my syde,
Voyde of all vertue, fullfilled with pryde,
Which hathe caused me, by report of suche fame,
For ther myslyvyng to have an yll name.

108/32-3 **if the kyng . . . me**: Here and at 109/14-15 Cavendish seems to represent Wolsey as expecting to be restored to all his dignities. Henry took the cardinal under his protection on 18 November after he had made his submission to the king. Wolsey did not

Wolsey. He sat in Parliament in 1529 as a member for Ipswich (LP, IV, 6043). Cromwell had referred to him as 'my friend' in the will which he made earlier in that year. Rush was not a knight at this time but received the honour later (1 June 1533) at Anne's coronation. His son, to whom Cavendish refers here, was Arthur Rush of Sudborne, Suffolk; he is not listed as a member of this Parliament.

113/10 a byll of Articles: These forty-four articles are discussed in detail by Pollard (pp. 258-63). They did not in fact condemn Wolsey, nor did they ask that he should be tried for treason; they merely request that 'he be so provided for, that he never have any power, jurisdiction, or authority hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoverish the commonwealth'.

113/15 to endyght hyme: Either Cavendish's original comprehension of events was extremely limited on this point or his later recollections were much more hazy than usual. The bill of indictment for praemunire had been presented in the king's bench on 9 October and on the 22nd Wolsey signed a complete acknowledgment of his guilt. The statute of praemunire under which the cardinal was indicted (16 Richard II, c. 5) is fully discussed by Pollard (pp. 245-51). Its terms provided for the confiscation of the defendant's property.

113/17 his Colleges: Wolsey continually deplored the dissolution of his colleges after his fall, but, as Pollard (p. 326) notes, it was the cardinal's own possessiveness which placed them in the king's hands. He had neglected to set them up as corporate entities and had retained absolute control of them for himself. Thus, as his own 'private property', they fell to the crown at his indictment.

113/25 the kynges lycence: Wolsey was not indicted for being legate, but for what he had done while he held that office. No one has ever produced the king's licence, but certainly it could not have covered the breaches of common law with which he was charged.

113/29-31 I ame content . . . indyghtment: Since Wolsey's submission occurred on 22 October, the visit of the judges, to whom Cavendish represents him as saying these words, must have occurred about the 20th or 21st. A further bill of indictment had been presented on the 20th. The cardinal surrendered to the king not only because he feared what might happen to him if the bishops themselves were to judge him but also because an indictment in the king's bench, unlike an act of attainder, could not issue in the death penalty (Pollard, p. 244).

114/15 the Duke of Norfolk: There is no evidence other than

Cavendish's for Norfolk's visit to the cardinal. Its dating presents a problem. We know that the Duke came to Wolsey on the same day that 'master Shelley' arrived to get Wolsey's signature on the transference of York Place to the king (below, 116/34ff.). If the document was the actual deed of recovery against Wolsey (printed by Fiddes, *Collections*, p. 224) then we should probably place Shelley's visit as occurring shortly before its date (7 February 1530). Cavendish (below, 119/9) says that Shelley called a clerk 'who wroth my lord recognysaunce'. It thus appears that the judge's visit referred to an earlier acknowledgement made by Wolsey and not to the actual transfer of February. Henry had taken over York Place as his own by 7 November 1529 (LP, V, p. 316). It seems most likely that Norfolk's visit occurred in November, rather than in February, for by the latter date he was violently expressing his wish that Wolsey should move North to York (below, 127/5-6 and n.).

114/17-18 **was commyng . . . hand**: Elliptical: was coming and was [now] even at hand.

115/24-5 **to bere . . . lion**: After the Battle of Flodden in 1513, the Earl of Surrey (father of Cavendish's Norfolk) was granted an augmentation to his arms which consisted of a red lion, symbolizing Scotland, cut in half and pierced by an arrow. But Wolsey's words probably allude to the fact that Norfolk was entitled to quarter his arms with those of Mowbray (a silver lion on a red field) and Segrave (a silver lion with a crown of gold on a black field). The Duke's retainers thus wore a device which pictured a white lion tearing a red one. The bloody crest that forms the title page of Roy's *Rede Me* (pp. 21-2) is described in the following verses:

Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde
 Borne vp betwene two angels off Sathan.
 The sixe blouddy axes in a bare felde
 Sheweth the cruelte of the red man/
 whiche hathe deuoured the beautifull swan.
 Mortall enmy vnto the whyte Lion/
 Carter of Yorche/ the vyle butchers sonne.

The red, of course, refers to Wolsey's robes as a cardinal; the swan is the Duke of Buckingham (executed in 1521); and the 'white lion' represents Norfolk. See Wordsworth's note (pp. 598-9).

115/33-4 **Parcere prostratis, etc.**: I have not been able to locate the exact source of this distich. The first half-line may well echo Virgil's famous 'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos' in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* and the idea of the lion as the king of beasts who

shows mercy to his victims is a classical commonplace. Seneca's *De Clementia* (Loeb edition of the *Moral Essays*, I, 372 and 422) and the following passage from Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, VIII, 19) may be cited as typical: 'Leoni tantum ex feris clementia in supplices; prostratis parcit: et ubi saevit, in viros potius, quam in foeminas fremit, in infantes non nisi magna fame.' Josse Clichtove, a contemporary of Wolsey (see below, 160/6-7 and n.), speaks of the lion as a type of nobility in his *De vera nobilitate* (Paris 1520): Enimuero leones tantum ex feris clementia vtuntur in supplices, prostratis parcut, vt eleganti carmine sic notat Ouidius in tertio libro tristium. Quo quisque est maior, magis est placabilis irae. Et faciles motus mens gencrosa capit. Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni: Pugna suum finem, cum iacet hostis, habet.' (Sig. C₅; Clichtove is quoting *Tristia*, III, v, 31-4). In *The Thistle and the Rose* (1503) Dunbar says of the lion 'Quois noble yre is proceir [*l. parcere*] prostratis' (l. 119), where the allusion is to the Scottish king's armorial bearings. Finally, it may be noted that Skelton seems to refer to this distich in his 'Elegy on the Earl of Northumberland' (d. 1489; see *Works*, I, 16): 'And, as the lyone, whiche is of bestes kynge, Unto thy subiectes be curteis and benygne.' Northumberland's crest contained a blue lion, just as that of Norfolk quartered a white one.

116/6 **auctory**: Either a slip here (and at 157/1) by Cavendish for his more normal 'auctoryte' or a genuine shortened form of the latter word.

116/7-8 **A Strawe . . . legacye**: 'Norfolk was here expressing at once the respect which conservatives felt for the mediaeval catholic church and the prejudice they entertained against the intruding autocracy involved in the legatine powers which Wolsey had acquired' (Pollard, p. 165).

116/28-9 **at thys tyme . . . seruyce**: Sadler's letter to Cromwell of 1 November 1529 (Merriman, I, 68) reports that 'Other newes at the courte I here none but dyuers of my lorde his *seruauntes* as Mr. Aluarde Mr. Sayntclere Mr. Forest, Humfrey lisle Mr. Mores & other ben elect and sworne the king his *seruauntes*.' But Sadler does not mention what the general attitude was with regard to the servants' transfer of allegiances.

116/34 **mr Shelley**: For the date of Shelley's visit to Wolsey, see above (114/15 and n.). Sir William Shelley (1480?-1549) had been made a serjeant and then a judge by Henry VIII. He was in the Parliament of 1529 and later, although reported to have been hostile

to the Reformation, took part in the most important state trials. Among the many appeals which Wolsey wrote after his fall there is one of August 1530 (LP, IV, 6577) to Shelley in which the cardinal beseeches his clemency 'in consideration of their old friendship' with regard to the status of Cardinal College, Oxford.

117/8-9 **I haue . . . messwage**: Norfolk was perhaps embarrassed by his own involvement in the York Place transaction. On 11 February 1530 he appeared in Chancery with More and others to acknowledge the deed of recovery against Wolsey (LP, IV, 6210).

118/10 **the Court of concyence**: Chancery formerly consisted of two courts, one of common law and the other of equity. 'The second proceeded upon rules of equity and conscience, moderating the rigour of the common law, and giving relief in cases where there was no remedy in the common-law courts' (*O.E.D.*, s.v. *Chancery*, 2).

118/20-1 **And . . . employed**: i.e. 'and [considering] that it is to be employed'.

119/5 **dischargethe**: i.e. 'discharge,' third person for first person, the only instance in the *Life*.

119/16 **the great affeccon**: This was Chapuys' impression when he wrote on 6 February that it would be easy to reinstate the cardinal if it were not for Anne Boleyn, 'for it is thought the King has no ill-will to the Cardinal. His only wish is for the Cardinal's goods' (LP, IV, 6199).

119/18-19 **to geve . . . chafe**: A letter from Wolsey to Cromwell (LP, IV, 6226; no date, but placed under February 1530) contains several statements of the cardinal's vexation. Wolsey may be alluding to the petty irritations that Cavendish describes when he says that 'Thys dayly alteration [keeps] me in suche agony that I had lever be ded [than alive]'.

119/24 **in daynger . . . estates**: Chapuys, writing of possible French attempts to reinstate the cardinal, says that 'were the affair properly conducted, the result would be greatly to their advantage; but if they fail in the attempt, as seems probable, it will only serve to irritate those now in power and at the head of affairs, whose very lives are at stake' (Pollard, p. 270).

120/8 **At Cristmas . . . syke**: Apparently a little after Christmas itself. Early in January Wolsey speaks of 'being entered into the passion of dropsy' (LP, IV, 6224; misdated under 17 February, see Pollard, p. 267, n. 4) and on 19 January Doctor Augustine (for whom see below, 151/13-14 and n.) wrote to Cromwell asking that

Drs. Butts and Cromer be sent. They were to bring leeches and some vomitive electuary and 'No time must be lost'.

120/10 **doctor buttes**: Sir William Butts (d. 1545) who took his M.D. at Cambridge in 1518 and was court physician from 1524 until his death.

120/21 **xx Mⁱ li**: Cavendish makes Henry use the same phrase after Wolsey's death (below, 184/10).

121/1 **And than . . . Anne**: Chapuys reported on 6 February (LP, IV, 6199) that 'a cousin of the Cardinal's physician told me that the lady had sent to visit him during his sickness, and represented herself as favouring him with the King. 'This is difficult to be believed, considering the hatred she has always borne him.'

121/11 **Doctor Clement**: John Clement (d. 1572), the friend of Thomas More and tutor to his children, who married Margaret Giggs, More's adopted daughter, in 1530. He was later (1544) president of the College of Physicians.

121/11 **Doctor Wotten**: Edward Wotten (1492-1555) was a member of the College of Physicians from 1528 on but does not appear to have attended Henry VIII. He is said to have been the first English physician to take up the systematic study of natural history and his *de Differentiis Animalium* (Paris, 1552) gained him a European reputation.

121/11 **doctor Cromer**: 'The fullest account of Dr. Walter Cromer (d. 1547) is contained in an article by R. R. James in *The Practitioner*, cxxxiii (1934), 200-7. Cromer became King's Physician in Ordinary to Henry VIII in 1539-40. He had married Alice Whethill, by whom he had four children, in 1528. A list of his medicines for Henry VIII is contained in MS. Sloane 1047, from which it was reprinted by Furnivall for the E.E.T.S. (E.S. 53, 1888). I owe this information to Mr. W. H. Challen.

121/34 **to debate his dessease**: The cardinal would never let himself be outshone, not even in medical matters. See his own diagnosis of the dysentery that killed him (below, 178/22 ff.). In 1519 More had written to the cardinal advising him not to physic himself so much (LP, III, i, p. 154).

122/14 **Candyllmas**: 2 February 1530. Cavendish's description of the 'stuff' which the king sent Wolsey may refer to the gifts of 14 February (LP, IV, 6214; above 112/8-10 and n.). It is possible, of course, that Henry sent two consignments of goods to Esher, one 'shortly after' or 'three or four weeks after' the cardinal arrived there and the other in February; if so, the first present has not been recorded in the *Letters and Papers*.

122/16 **beddes, etc.:** The schedule of 14 February specifically mentions 'Plate, Dyvers Apparell of Houshold, as Hangyngs, Beddyng, Napry, and Implements of the Kytchen'.

123/4 **ffor he . . . Assher:** It must have been about this time that Wolsey wrote to Gardiner asking his aid in removing from Asher and complaining of the damp and moist air there (LP, IV, 6224, no date). On 1 February Wolsey wrote to Cromwell saying that he could not leave for Richmond as yet (*State Papers*, I, 361). It may be supposed that his removal occurred shortly after this date; this would agree with Cavendish's 'shortly after Candylmas' (below, 127/20).

123/26-7 **ffor the kyng . . . hampton Court:** Pollard (p. 325, n. 2) interprets this passage as meaning that the 'exchange' occurred after Wolsey's fall, but Cavendish's description of the cardinal's repairs would make it appear that it took place before his indictment. Wolsey had 'given' Hampton Court to the king in 1524-5, but had continued to occupy it afterwards.

124/1-2 **lest his . . . at lengthe:** 'Lest his nigh-being to the king might cause the king'.

124/15 **the Duke of Norffolk:** See the Duke's words to Wolsey at Grafton before his fall (above, 94/27ff.).

124/33-4 **Movyde . . . wynchester:** Pollard (p. 273, n. 2) quotes Holmes's text for this passage where the reading is 'a pension of four thousand marks'. That the pension was actually 1,000 marks is shown by the treasurer's accounts (Pollard, *ibid.*, referring to LP, V, p. 318) and by Cavendish himself (below, 131/23). The recipients of these pensions are all mentioned elsewhere in the *Life*. The *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (Rolls of Parliament to supply the deficiencies in the Journals of the House of Lords, clxxxviii) record the passing in 1531 of 'An Act concerning certain Annuities granted out of the Bishopric of Wynchester', which insured the possessors of grants from Wolsey against any loss of their revenues. The cardinal's writs are listed as follows: on 20 February 1530, £100 to Norfolk, who was also made High Steward of the bishopric's rents; £200 to George Boleyn; £40 each to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Henry Guildford, and Sir John Russell; two grants to Henry Norris, one of £100 and the other of £20; on 5 June 1530, 100 marks to Lord Sandys. The pensions amount to about £610 per year. Winchester, in 1535, had lands valued at £3,820 per year. Only George Boleyn received as much as 300 marks (below, 125/9) and Cavendish appears to be incorrect when he says (below, 131/29) that 'hys [Wolsey's] part was the lest'.

127/5-6 **teare . . . teathe:** Norfolk's words, as Wordsworth

(p. 610) noted, probably allude to the lion that he displayed on his crest (see above, 115/24–5 and n.). They are strikingly confirmed in one of Chapuys' dispatches (LP, IV, 6199; 6 February 1530), in which the ambassador reports a conversation between Norfolk and Sir John Russell. Norfolk, so runs the letter, asked Russell if he thought that the cardinal would return to power. When Russell replied that this was not unlikely, the Duke 'began to swear very loudly that, rather than suffer this, he would eat him up alive'.

127/20 **Candylmas**: See above (123/4). In 1530 Lent began on 2 March.

127/23 **a certyn tale**: The 'dun cow' prophecy which Cavendish relates here may be alluded to in the last stanza of 'The descripcion of the armes' in Roy's *Rede Me* (p. 20):

The cloubbe signifieth playne hys tiranny
Covered over with a Cardinals hatt
Wherin shalbe fulfilled the prophecy
Aryse vp Iacke and put on thy salatt/
For the tyme is come of bagge and walatt
The temporall cheualry thus throwen downe
Wherby prest take hede and beware thy croune.

Wordsworth (p. 612) suggested that the lines on the dun cow may explain the fact that, when Anne Boleyn was made Marchioness of Pembroke, her family arms were not quartered on her new crest. Henry, who presumably forbade the 'bull' to be placed on the royal arms, might have been endeavouring to avoid any references to such a 'coupling' which a vulgar prophecy like this one might have aroused in the populace. His other queens were all allowed to include their family arms in their new royal crests. Wolsey's superstitious concern for prophecies and omens is substantiated by several anecdotes that have come down to us. See below (170/10 and n.).

129/31 **the last monye**: Presumably the £3,000 in ready money which was included in Henry's gift of 14 February (Singer, p. 507). For Wolsey's debts after his fall, all of which were taken over by the king, see Pollard (pp. 273–4).

130/7 **Doctor Collett**: John Colet (1467?–1519), the famous Dean of St. Paul's, who had built this house shortly before he died. Colet's dwelling is mentioned in Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* (Everyman ed., p. 292) and a brief description of it is given in the *Life of Colet* printed by Wordsworth (p. 444).

130/9 **the passion weke**: See below (132/30 and n.).

131/3 **q^d oon among theme**: The council member who speaks

here will probably remain unidentified, but it may be suggested that Cavendish is alluding to Sir Thomas More (from whom he could have got the story), the only man in the council who seems to have foreseen the turn that events were to take in the future. Not long before this More had remarked to Roper: 'I haue no cawse to be prowde [of the king's affection], for if my head could winne him a castle in Fraunce . . . it should not faile to goe' (Roper's *Life of More*, p. 21).

131/7 **lett vs do, etc.**: Perhaps echoing Luke, vi, 31, but the phrase is, of course, proverbial.

131/23 **a Mⁱ marces**: See above (124/33-4 and n.). This sum was paid to Wolsey on 18 March (LP, V, p. 318).

132/3 **a Mⁱ li**: Henry entrusted this money to Laurence Stubbs, the cardinal's receiver-general, with specific instructions that it be used only to pay his debts. But even this sum was insufficient to compensate Wolsey's creditors. See Stubbs's letter to Wolsey (LP, IV, 6390) and Pollard (p. 274).

132/16 Supply 'was' before 'greatly'.

132/30 **the passion weke**: Passion Week began on Sunday, 3 April, in 1530. By reckoning back from the date (Palm Sunday, 10 April) of Wolsey's arrival at Peterborough, we find that he left Richmond on Tuesday, 5 April.

132/32 **hendon**: The Abbot of Westminster at this time was John Islip, the last of the great masters of the Abbey. He was succeeded in 1532 by William Boston. The manor of Hendon had been given to Westminster by Richard le Rous in 1312 (Wordsworth, p. 616).

132/32 **the Rye**: Rye House in Hertfordshire, later the scene of the famous 'Rye House Plot' of June 1683. It was owned at this time by Maud Parr (1495-1531), the wife of Sir Thomas Parr (d. 1518) and the mother of Catherine Parr, the sixth and last queen of Henry VIII. See *Wills from Doctors Commons*, Camden Society, LXXXIII, 9-20.

133/2 **to Peterboroughe**: 9 April 1530. The king had been asked for letters of recommendation under the privy seal addressed to the various nobles with whom Wolsey stayed on his route northwards. That to the Abbot of Peterborough is dated 28 March (LP, IV, 6294).

133/4 **the thursday**: 21 April.

133/11 **maundy Thursday**: 14 April. The fifty-nine poor men each represented a year of the cardinal's life. This passage provides the best evidence for the date of Wolsey's birth (see above, 4/29 and n. and Pollard, p. 276, n. 1).

133/17 the resurreccion: 17 April. By 'the resurreccion' Cavendish means the ceremonies connected with Easter. Singer (p. 309) quotes the following passage from the *Processionale secundum usum Sarum* (1555 ed., fol. 72) to illustrate the ritual: 'On Easter Day, before mass, and before the ringing of the bells, let the clerks assemble, and all the tapers in the church be lighted. Then two persons shall draw nigh to the sepulchre, and after it is censed let them take the cross out of the sepulchre, and one of them begin *Christus resurgens*. Then let the procession commence. After this they shall all worship (*adorent*) the cross. Then let all the crucifixes and images in the church be unveiled, etc.'

133/23-4 sir willam fitzwillam: Sir William Fitzwilliam (1460?-1534), not to be confused with Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (d. 1542). Cavendish's Sir William was originally a merchant of London; he was instrumental in obtaining a new charter for the 'Taylors' Company in 1502 and was frequently in trouble with the City of London as a consequence of his action. See Charles M. Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, London, 1888, I, 36-7.

The reason why the City became so incensed over the new charter was that it gave the guild the privilege of admitting new members without restriction. Fitzwilliam's quarrel with the City came to a head a few years later when he was appointed Sheriff by the king and the city-elected candidate deposed. The Mayor and aldermen deprived him of his rights as a freeman of the City in consequence, but a Star-Chamber decree of 1511 (in which Wolsey almost certainly had a hand) remitted their decision. Thereafter, Fitzwilliam rose rapidly. Wolsey soon made him 'Treasurer of his household and a member of the Council. He was knighted in 1522. His house where the cardinal stayed was Milton Manor in Northampton, which Fitzwilliam had purchased in 1506 from Richard Wittelbury.

134/1 he reioysed: Wolsey had good reason to rejoice on this occasion: he had already written to Gardiner complaining about the charges he had to bear at Peterborough (LP, IV, 6299).

134/4 Thursday next: Wolsey left Peterborough on 21 April. He stayed four days with Sir William Fitzwilliam and left for Stamford on Monday, 25 April (below, 135/8).

135/9 the next day: 26 April. The gentleman with whom Wolsey lodged at Grantham was John Hall, Surveyor of Calais, and father of Arthur Hall (fl. 1563-1604) whose *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (1581) are the first English translation of Homer.

135/10 **The next day**: Wolsey was at Newark on the 27th and rode to Southwell on the 28th. He stayed at the house of Archdeacon Magnus until his own manor at Southwell could be repaired; Magnus had already written to him that he did not have enough room and that, in any event, he would have to reside in his benefice himself (LP, IV, 6341; see below, 138/12 and n.). But the cardinal was not a man to be put off by the complaints of a mere archdeacon.

135/25 **sence . . . lyueres**: i.e. shortly after 18 March (see above, 132/15ff.), when Wolsey was paid the 1,000 marks out of Winchester.

136/9–12 The sentence structure is very compressed: 'for often changing . . . for riches, who will . . . abundance [brings it about that] the poor Commons, etc.'

136/17–18 **confesse . . . premunyre**: For the reasons which prompted Wolsey to this confession see above (113/29–31 and n.). Wolsey's explanation, as recorded by Cavendish in the following passage, is substantially in agreement with the discernible facts.

137/10 **a poore vykare**: A vicar's benefice at this time was worth £20 a year; Wolsey himself had estimated that he would need £4,000 a year to maintain himself after his fall (Pollard, p. 323).

137/19 **the nyght Crowe**: The allusion is, of course, to Anne Boleyn.

137/26–7 **Quia indignacio . . . est**: cf. Proverbs xvi, 14, Indignatio regis, nuntii mortis. Most men of the early Tudor period would have agreed with Wolsey's maxim: a few years later the Duke of Norfolk was to quote it ominously to More (Harpsfield, p. 165, following Roper, pp. 71–2), who replied: 'Is that all, my Lord? Then in good faith is there no *more* differens/betweene *your* grace *and* me, but that I shall dye today, *and* yow tomorrowe.' Archbishop Warham had also used it in 1528, when he refused to aid Queen Catherine in her defence (above, 15/28 and n.).

138/12 **a prebendaries howsse**: The house of Archdeacon Magnus, who, despite his complaints (above, 135/10 and n.), had been forced to put Wolsey up for the time. The cardinal moved into his repaired palace at Southwell on 4 June. Whitsunday fell on 5 June in 1530.

139/1 **Corpus xpi** [i.e. Christi] **Eve**: 15 June.

139/12–13 **demaundyng what they ware**: i.e. 'asking who they were'. Cf. *Othello*, I, i, 94, 'What are you? My name is Roderigo.'

139/14 **m^r Breerton**: William Brereton (d. 1536) afterwards

executed as one of Anne's lovers. The expense account of his journey with Wriothesley includes the item 'Guide to Southwell, 12d.' (LP, IV, 6489). The document to which Wolsey affixed his signature was the famous petition (dated 13 July 1530) from the clergy and nobility of England to Clement VII, begging him to accede to the king's wishes in the divorce case. As Pollard (p. 287, n. 2) points out, Cavendish was probably unaware of its contents; otherwise, he could scarcely have described the cardinal as so opposed to the divorce.

139/15 **mr Wrothesley**: Thomas Wriothesley (1505–1550), a servant of Cromwell by February 1524, and Clerk of the Signet by 4 May 1530, the latter office probably accounting for his participation in this journey. He was created Earl of Southampton on 16 February 1547.

140/15 **the Erle of Shrewesburys**: George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury (1468–1538), who had already had a long and full career under both Henry VII and Henry VIII. During the divorce he supported the king and gave evidence against the queen at the trial. After Wolsey's arrest, the Earl entertained him at Sheffield Castle for several weeks (below, pp. 163ff.).

141/1 **vntill . . . Grease tyme**: About 1 September 1530. Cavendish, who is the chief authority for the stages of Wolsey's journey at this point, is not precise on the date. It would seem that the cardinal spent about four or five days on the road and arrived at Scrooby about 6–7 September. He left there 'about the feast of Seynt Michell' (29 September, below 144/9) and reached Cawood on 2–3 October.

144/11 **vijen myles**: Cawood is nine and a half miles from York, not seven.

144/32 **bylt . . . Castle**: On 18 August Cromwell wrote to Wolsey as follows: 'Sir, sum ther be, that doth alledge that Your Grace doth kepe to grete a house and famyllye, and that ye are contynually buylding; for the love of God, therefore, I eftesones, as I often tymys have done, most hertelye besече Your Grace to have respecte to every thing, and consideryng the time, to refrayne your self, for a season, from al maner byldyngges, more then mere necessite requireth' (*State Papers*, I, 366).

145/2 **sir Richard Tempest & mr Bryan hastynges**: The cause of the quarrel between these two gentlemen must probably remain unknown but it may be noted that Sir Richard Tempest had been knighted at Tournai, 25 September 1513, and had served as Sheriff

of York in 1517. He was at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 and later seems to have been a member of the Duke of Richmond's court in the North (LP, IV, 3551). Bryan Hastings, who appears to have been the younger of the two men, was knighted on 24 May 1533 at Greenwich before the coronation of Anne.

146/10-11 **very late/to dynne**: Dinner during this period usually took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The *Northumberland Household Book* (London, 1827, p. 310) says that 'to x of the Clock that my Lorde goos to Dynner'.

146/21-3 **As it appered . . . hyme**: See Cavendish's description of their laments at Wolsey's departure from Cawood (below, 161/22ff.).

146/29 **Doctor hikden**: Doctor Brian Higden (d. 1539) became Dean of York in 1516, succeeding John Young, who had succeeded Wolsey himself on 17 May 1514. He is not to be confused with the Doctor John Higden who was Dean of Cardinal College, Oxford (below, 176/34-5). For Brian Higden, see Le Neve (III, 126).

146/30 **the treasurer**: The Treasurer of York at this time was Lancelot Collynson (d. 1538), who had held the office since 1514 (Le Neve, III, 162).

146/34 **so long . . . theme**: A delicate euphemism on the part of the doctors; in fact, Wolsey had never entered his diocese since the day he received the archbishopric.

148/4 **the next monday**: Monday, 7 November.

148/7-8 **the comen fame**: It was not only Wolsey's coming 'enthronisation' that caused rumours to spread about his plans to return to power: he had summoned a convocation to meet at York on 7 November without waiting for the normal royal mandate and apparently intended to go through with it despite the warnings he received (Pollard, pp. 292-3).

148/26-7 **the vammppes of my hosyn**: Wolsey may have been recalling the manner in which his successful rival for the papacy, Adrian VI, had proceeded to his installation as Pope. According to Harpsfield (p. 42 and Chambers' note, p. 324) Adrian had walked barefoot through the city of Rome on his way to St. Peter's in January 1522.

149/4-5 **the Mayor**: The Mayor of York in 1530 was Sir George Lawson (d. 1543), later a member of Parliament for York. The York Civic Records (*Yorkshire Archaeological Society*, Record Series, CVI and CVIII, 1942-3) contain numerous notices of his activities.

150/29 **sir walter welshe**: Sir Walter Walsh is frequently mentioned in the *Letters and Papers* and in the *Privy Purse Expences*. He had recently married the widow of Sir William Compton and was undoubtedly in the king's esteem (see LP, IV, 4477). It may or may not be significant that on 31 October 1530 the king made him a present of £10 (*Privy Purse Expences*, p. 85); Walsh started North to arrest Wolsey on 1 November.

150/31 **the Erle of Northumberland**: Henry Percy, the sixth Earl, who has already figured prominently in the early part of the *Life*. See above (29/34 and n.).

151/13-14 **doctor Augusteyn**: Agostino d'Agostini, a native of Venice and the nephew of Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester. 'He had entered Wolsey's service about 1527, was given by him the prebend of Wetwang in York cathedral, and was naturalized in 1530. He became in 1532 physician to Wolsey's old colleague Campeggio, was a friend of Sir T. Elyot, kept up a correspondence with Cromwell, and referred to Wolsey as *heros meus felicitis memoriae*' (Pollard, p. 296). Cavendish's representation of Agostini as the Judas who betrayed his master does not seem to be supported by the facts of the situation. He was, of course, arrested as a traitor, but this seems to have been due to his role in carrying letters for the cardinal; it is 'practically certain' (Pollard, p. 295) that, once in London, he turned king's evidence and thus implicated the cardinal, but he did not forge the correspondence with the foreign ministers.

151/17 **raylyng**: Apparently *O.E.D.* v. 3: 'flowing, gushing down, usually said of blood'. But Cavendish seems to be using the word in a transferred sense; in his example it is the cross which 'rails down', thus causing blood to flow. Cf. the *O.E.D.*'s quotation from Capgrave: 'Ffro thi eynez lete the water now be thi checkis reyle.'

151/18 **doctor Bonners**: Edmund Bonner (1500?-69), the famous 'bloody Bonner' of Foxe's martyrology. He had become Wolsey's chaplain in 1529 and had been frequently employed by him as a messenger to Gardiner and Cromwell.

151/29 **Malum Omen**: For Wolsey's superstitions, see the note on the 'dun cow' passage (above, 127/23) and below (170/10 and n.).

151/33 **Pountfrett Abbey**: i.e. at Pontefract Abbey on 6 November after his arrest.

152/21 **the ffriday next**: 4 November 1530.

153/35-154/1 **his gentelman vssher**: Possibly Cavendish himself?

154/17 **to se . . . howsse**: As Wordsworth (p. 639) notes, 'this was a very natural expression for Wolsey to use, although it conveys

somewhat of a reproof'. The Earl lived at Wressil Castle, only ten miles from Cawood.

155/17 **My lord . . . treason:** Hall's account of Wolsey's arrest (p. 773) differs in some details from Cavendish's: 'he [the Earl] . . . came to the Manor of Cawod . . . and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, my lord I pray you take pacience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayd y^e Cardinal, yea sayd the erle I haue a commaundement so to do: you haue no such power sayd the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate de Latere and a pere of the College of Rome & ought not to be arrested by any temporal power, for I am not subiect to that power, wherfore if you arrest me, I will withstand it: well sayd the erle here is the kings Commission (which he shewed him) and therfore I charge you to obey, etc.'

155/25-6 **an auncient grudge:** Wolsey's reference is apparently to strife that had existed between the earl's ancestors and former Archbishops of York. There was, of course, much bad blood between the earl and his father and the cardinal. The Percy-Anne episode has already been mentioned by Cavendish himself. In 1516, the fifth earl, who was a friend of Buckingham, was imprisoned in the Fleet, 'put there so that Wolsey might have the credit of getting him out' (*D.N.B.*). When the fifth earl died in 1527, the cardinal appropriated, among other effects, his chapel books. See young Percy's letter on the subject (Singer, p. 462).

156/14 **Sedell:** Schedule, 'originally a separate paper or slip of parchment accompanying or appended to a document, and containing explanatory or supplementary matter' (*O.E.D.*).

160/6-7 **thes wordes of scripture:** 'Scripture' in Cavendish's day could refer to any religious writing, not, as now, to the Bible alone. Wolsey's words form part of a liturgical *responsorium* composed by King Robert of France (c. 970-1031). The text is in Migne (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141, col. 944) where the only differences from Cavendish's words are 'despicabilis' for 'despicabilis' (see the emendation) and 'retributionis' for 'tribulacionis'; it continues with the response 'Nobis ergo petimus piis subveniat meritis, honorificati a Patre qui est in coelis. Invenietur in laudem, etc.' According to Migne, the hymn is still sung in France, and is found in 'quelques Processionaux au commun des martyrs' (*ibid.*, col. 902).

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the 'O Constantia' occurs in the *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum* (Paris, 1515, I use the Basel edition of 1517) of Jodocus Clichtovaeus (Josse Clichtove, 1472-1543),

where it is the sixth responsorium for the feast of the Blessed Sacrament (Sigs. S₄-S_{4v}). Clichtove, a noted theologian of his day, was director of studies to Louis Guillard, Bishop-elect of Tournai, who disputed that see with Wolsey for over four years (1514-18; see above, 15/2-3 and n.). It is not at all impossible that Clichtove was known personally to the cardinal. His book collects a vast body of ecclesiastical hymns and gives full explanations of their symbology. In his comment on the 'O Constantia' he remarks that 'hoc responsorium elegans admodum & suave, fertur composuisse Robertus rex Franciae, uir non minus literarum & uirtutum splendor, atque regia dignitate spectabilis. In cuius responsorii fronte alluisse dicitur ad nomen reginae uxoris suae, quae Constantia uocabatur, praefigendo id nomen (communiter tamen sumptum) in capite sui operis.' The story is also in Migne (col. 902) and in Helen Waddell's *The Wandering Scholars* (New York, 1927), p. 73.

160/18 **the next day**: Wolsey left Cawood on Sunday, 6 November, reaching Pontefract Abbey that night (below, 162/30).

162/3-4 **lett... Northumberland**: Northumberland had remained behind at Cawood to complete the inventory of Wolsey's possessions. This inventory, signed by the Earl and 'Walter Walch', is calendared in LP, IV, 6748, item 12.

162/7 **sir Roger lasselles**: Sir Roger Lascelles of Sowerby and Brackenbury in Lincolnshire, captain of Norham Castle for the earl. Four letters from him to Northumberland on Scottish affairs are calendared in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, 4674, 4709, 4720 and 4728, all from August and September 1528). James V refers to him as 'Master Leisence' in a letter to Henry VIII of 22 June 1529 (LP, IV, 5706).

162/16-17 **iiijre shyrtes of heare**: For William Forrest's comment on Wolsey's hair shirt, see Appendix A.

162/20 **to Pomfrett**: Wolsey's despairing words were no doubt inspired by his knowledge that Pontefract Castle, or 'Pomfret' as it was generally pronounced, had been the scene of state executions in times past. Cf. the words of Lord Rivers in *Richard III* (III, iii, 9-14):

O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!
Within the guilty closure of thy walls
Richard the second here was hack'd to death;
And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

162/33 **The next day:** Monday, 7 November. Wolsey spent the night at the Blackfriars, Doncaster, and arrived at Sheffield on 8 November.

163/10-11 **therle of Shrewsbury:** For Shrewsbury, see above (140/15 and n.). He had married his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Walden of Erith, Kent, about 1512.

164/17 **xvii^{en} dayes after:** This statement is not contradicted by Cavendish's later remark, 'the space after of a fouerthnyght' (167/10), which refers to the number of days Wolsey spent at Sheffield *after* his long lamentation to the earl (below, ll. 27ff.) and not to the whole period of his stay. But Cavendish's eighteen days should be sixteen, for Wolsey arrived on the 8th and left, under Kingston's arrest, on the 24th.

164/34-165/1 **than he . . . mystrust:** The word order is inverted: 'than for any mistrust he hath, etc.'

165/1 **Alas/q^d my lord:** The cardinal's lament contains many echoes of the Psalms. Cf., for example, his 'ffor he is my stafe . . . ennemyes' (165/18-20) with Ps. xxiii, 4, 'thy rod and thy staff they comfort me'; also Ps. xxxi, 2-3, 'Be thou my strong rock, for a house of defence to save me. For thou art my rock and my fortress; therefore for thy name's sake lead me and guide me.' Note especially how Wolsey's 'hauyng non other refuge . . . contynually Imagynyth' (165/29-33) echoes Ps. lvii, 1, 'Yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge', and the whole of Ps. lix with its references to the enemies that 'return at evening and wander up and down'. Cf. also Ps. lxi, 2.

167/15 **at certyne season:** By counting back from the day of Wolsey's death (29 November) it can be ascertained that this was Tuesday the 22nd, the date of Kingston's arrival at Sheffield.

168/3-4 **oon article of myn othe:** Evidently Cavendish had sworn that no medicines would be given to the cardinal unless his captors were first informed of the fact.

168/22 **laske:** For the details of Wolsey's disease see below (178/22-3 and n.).

168/32 **sir willam kyngstone:** Sir William Kingston (d. 1540) had been knighted at Flodden in 1513. A favourite of Henry VIII, he was made Constable of the Tower on 28 May 1524.

170/10 **Mr kyngesston/q^d he:** According to an anecdote preserved by Fuller (*Church History*, II, 51) Wolsey had been told that 'he should have his end at Kingston'. For this reason the

cardinal is said to have avoided passing through Kingston-on-Thames on his way to the court. Wolsey's reliance on soothsayers and fortune tellers is mentioned in the contemporary *Chronicle of King Henry VIII* (p. 3) and by William Forrest in *Grisild the Second* (p. 52), who also tells of his belief that a woman would cause his fall:

Hee counseled (men saide) withe Astronomyers
(Or what other secte I cannot well saye,
Weare they Sothesayers or weare they lyers),
Whyther he shoulde fall or florysche alwaye;
Whois answere was, he shoulde come to decaye
By meanys (they fownde) of a certayne woman,
But what shee sholde bee they could not saye than.

For other instances of the cardinal's superstitions, see above (127/23 and n., and 151/29).

171/7 **Imynent**: 'imminent', probably for 'eminent', noteworthy. The *O.E.D.* gives one example (from 1642) of this confusion. But 'imminent' in the sense of 'threatening' is also possible here.

171/12 **I perceyve . . . knowe**: Cf. Wolsey's words to Kingston later (173/20): 'I knowe what is provydid for me.' The cardinal believed that he was destined for the Tower and his suspicions are proved to have been correct by an entry in the treasurer's accounts (LP, V, p. 322): 'To Sir Wm. Kingston, captain of the King's Guard, sent to the earl of Shrewsbury with divers of the Guard, for the conveyance of the cardinal of York to the tower, 40 l.'

173/34 **Colour Adustum**: Cavendish's variation of the normal sixteenth-century 'choler adust', a disease whose symptoms were dryness of the body, heat, thirst, black or burnt colour of the blood, and deficiency of serum in it, atrabilious or 'melancholic' complexion, etc. Cavendish's use of the term to refer to the excreted bile is paralleled by the *O.E.D.*'s 1601 example, 'Choler black and adust, what purgeth downward.'

174/2 **doctor Nicholas**: The only reference to this Doctor Nicholas which I have been able to discover occurs in the *Privy Purse Expences* (p. 192), where he is listed as having received a reward from the king. There is a 'Nicholas' mentioned as being in Wolsey's service in a letter from Vannes to the cardinal of 7 June 1529 (LP, IV, 5656), but he is probably not Cavendish's doctor, who is described as 'being w^t therle'.

174/6-7 **if therle . . . byn**: i.e. if the Earl of Shrewsbury had not prevented him from doing so.

174/8 **the next day**: 24 November, Wolsey was taken ill on the 22nd, the day of Kingston's arrival, and on the 23rd he was too weak to move (above, 173/32).

174/14 **hardwyke hall**: As the Rev. Joseph Hunter was the first to point out, this was not the famous Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, later the home of the Countess of Shrewsbury during Elizabeth's reign, but Hardwick-upon-Line in Nottinghamshire, four miles from Newstead Abbey. See Singer's note (pp. 379–80).

174/15 **the next day**: 25 November.

174/16 **and the next day**: Saturday, 26 November.

174/20 **the Abbott**: Richard Pexall or Pexsall, who was Abbot of St. Mary's, Leicester, from 1509 to 1533. Leicester Abbey belonged to the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, an order in which Wolsey himself was a brother. In 1518 the canons had appealed to the cardinal to maintain their authority over refractory brethren (LP, IV, p. dcxiv, n. 1).

174/30 **vppon Monday**: 28 November.

175/9 **doctor Palmes**: Doctor George Palmes, who, in 1544, became Archdeacon of York. A short account of his preferments is given in Nichols's *History of Leicester* (I, ii, 271, n. 4) and in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (I, iii, 302). On 28 January 1531 William Lelegrave wrote to Kingston reporting that Doctor Palmes had told him about a debt of £100 which was owed to Wolsey by the Prior of St. Oswald's in Gloucestershire (LP, V, 66). He is probably the George Palmes referred to at this time in the *Letters and Papers* (V, 572 and 1688) as 'Receiver of the revenues of the Archdeaconry of York'.

175/18-19 **Mr Vyncent**: David Vincent, who had been one of the grooms of Wolsey's privy chamber (LP, IV, 4198, V, p. 325; Pollard, p. 299). Vincent was made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe at Richmond on 29 December 1530, only a month after Wolsey's death (LP, IV, 6803, [29]). In 1532 he received the same office at Greenwich (LP, V, 838, [31]). Cavendish's story of the £1,500 for which Wolsey was accountable to the king rests, as might be expected, solely on his authority. Vincent had left Wolsey at Scrooby in September (below, 184/15–16) and had been arrested later on suspicion of having stolen the money.

176/5 **a boke at Cawood**: The 'book' does not appear in the inventory as calendared in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, 6748, item 12).

176/33 **sir Iohn Alyn**: Sir John Alen or Alyn was a prominent

London alderman, who had been mayor in 1526; he is frequently referred to in the *Letters and Papers*, where we learn that he was one of the commissioners appointed to make inquisition in London of Wolsey's possessions during the summer of 1530 (IV, 6516, item 1) and that the cardinal owed him a sum of £83 12s. 'for arras . . . at his departure northwards' (IV, 6748, item 15).

176/33-4 **sir Richard Gressham**: Sir Richard Gresham (1485?-1549) was not knighted until 18 October 1537, in which year he was Mayor of London. A member of the Mercers' Company, he had had extensive dealings with Wolsey in the past. The cardinal owed him a sum of £226. 12s. 5d. at the time of his arrest at Cawood (LP, IV, 6748, item 15).

176/34 **the m^r of Savoy**: The Master of the Savoy at this time was William Holgill, who was Wolsey's surveyor and who had been active in the dissolution of the monasteries under Cromwell (LP, IV, 633, 2193, 4547, 6329, etc.). The inventory taken at Cawood shows that Wolsey owed him £100, which may or may not be part of the debt mentioned here. The Savoy had been founded as a London palace on 12 February 1246 from a grant of land given by Henry III to Peter of Savoy. It was destroyed by Wat Tyler's mob in 1381. Henry VII rebuilt it as a hospital about 1505 and endowed it in his will.

176/34-5 **Doctor hykden**: Doctor John Higden, who had been elected to the presidency of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1516; he had resigned in 1525 to become Dean of Cardinal College, a position which he held until 15 January 1531, when all the lands and patronage of the college were finally surrendered to the king (Le Neve, II, 511; III, 561 and, for other preferments held by Higden, II, 190 and III, 223). John Higden may have been a brother of Cavendish's 'Doctor hikden Deane of the chirche of yorke', for whom see above (146/29 and n.).

176/35-177/1 **the Treasurer**: Lancelot Collynson (above, 146/30 and n.).

177/1-2 **the Dean of yorke**: John Higden (above, 146/29 and n.).

177/2 **parson Elis**: Apparently the 'Mr. Elis, the priest', who is referred to in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, 6186) as a member of Wolsey's household at the time of his death. He is perhaps to be identified with the 'Mons. Ellys' who was in the cardinal's suite on the French embassy of 1527 (LP, IV, 3216). We also hear of a 'Sir Nich. Ellys, clk.' who was apparently in Wolsey's service in 1529 and who may have been the 'Elis' mentioned as a bearer of a letter

from the cardinal to the Lord Chief Justice about 10 August 1530 (LP, IV, 5331 and 6555).

177/3 my Steward: A letter to Wolsey of 10 June 1530 mentions that 'Master Donington' is rumoured to be Wolsey's steward, a man 'who is not beloved in that country' (LP, IV, 6447). This was probably Thomas Donington, one of Wolsey's chaplains, who appears to have been in the king's displeasure in January 1530 (LP, IV, 6164). On 10 August of that year Donington wrote to Cromwell thanking him for his services, which may have entailed some pleading of his cause with the king. The only other reference to Donington which I have been able to discover occurs in a letter of 27 March 1529, where he is said to have failed to perform his duty (LP, IV, 5400). What this duty was or how Donington failed in it is not specified in the letter.

178/12 saynt Andrewes Eve: 'Tuesday, 29 November, the day of Wolsey's death.

178/22-3 I haue . . . desease: For Wolsey's pride in his medical knowledge, see above (121/34 and n.). According to Hall (p. 774), the cardinal died 'for very feblenes of nature caused by purgacions and vomites'. William Forrest (see Appendix A) had heard that his death was brought about from taking 'too, too many' pills. Augustine, who was not with Wolsey at Leicester, wrote to Norfolk about six months later that the cardinal did not die of poison, as had been rumoured, 'sed tremore cordis et atra bili, forsa[n] dolore animi, jampridem contracto' (LP, V, 283, 3 June 1531).

178/28 the viijth day: Wolsey had been taken ill on 22 November (above, 167/15 and n.).

178/34-5 But if I . . . kyng: A remarkable parallel to Wolsey's dying words is found in Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* (ed. A. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols., 1899-1911, Scottish Text Society, I, 393): 'And in the meane tyme the said Schir James Hammilltoun [who is appearing to James V in a vision after the king had had him executed] sould say into the king of Scotland as efter followis: "Thou hes gart slay me wrangouslie and uniustlie, ffor I was innocent of the cryme that was layd to me; thocht I was ane sinner aganis God zeit [i.e. 'yet'] I faillzett not to the. Had I bene allis goode ane servant to my god as I was to the, I had not dieit the deid.'" Pitscottie's history was not composed until 1576-9 and it is not impossible that the Scots writer had heard of Wolsey's deathbed words. Cf. also Skelton's *Magnificence* (Works, I, 290): 'In welthe to beware, yf I had had grace,/Never had I bene brought in this case.'

179/13-15 **And rather . . . daynger:** As early as 20 August 1528 Du Bellay had written to Montmorency that 'His [Wolsey's] great difficulty is that he knows his master to be the most avaricious man in the world' (LP, IV, 4649).

179/25 **the lutarnaunce:** Wolsey himself had not been unduly severe in his proceedings against heretics. He had burned the reformers' books, but it is a matter of record that 'there is no instance of the extreme penalty being inflicted during Wolsey's legacy by the cardinal himself, his commissaries, or the diocesan synods whose jurisdiction he effectively superseded' (Pollard, p. 214).

179/28 **the kyng of Beame:** For the Bohemian Revolt, see Appendix B.

180/28 **kyng Rycherd:** Wolsey refers to Wat Tyler's rebellion of June 1381. On 14 June Richard II met the rebels at Smithfield and gave them charters of freedom, which were revoked on 2 July. Tyler himself was killed at the Smithfield meeting and John Ball was executed on 14 July.

181/5 **sir Iohn OldCastell:** Sir John Oldcastle (1378?-1417), the original of Shakespeare's Falstaff. He became a Lollard about 1410, was arrested after his failure to recant in 1413, but escaped from the Tower. Recaptured in 1417, he was sentenced as a traitor and heretic and hanged on the same day, 14 December.

181/25-6 **than we began . . . passion:** This was the normal deathbed procedure in Cavendish's day. John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (E.E.T.S., o.s. 31) lists seven 'speciale interrogacions The whiche a Curat aught to aske euery cristene persone that liethe in the extremyte of dethe'. The seventh and last of these instructs the priest to say: 'Belevest thowe fully that Criste dyed for the, and that thowe may neuer be saved but by the Merite of Cristes passione, and thanne thankest therof god with thyne harte asmoche as thowe mayest? he answerethe, Yee' (pp. 64-5).

182/14-15 **vnto hyme & to thabbot:** Apparently 'calling to the abbot to come unto him also'.

182/15 **the order of hys buriall.** Although Cavendish, naturally enough, does not mention the fact, Wolsey was buried in the so-called 'tyrants' grave' at Leicester Abbey where Richard III had been interred. By 4 December Chapuys had noted that 'gissent tous deux en une mesme eglise, la quelle l'on commence desja appeller la sepulture des tyrans' (Pollard, p. 302).

182/19 **the mayor of leicester:** The Mayor of Leicester in 1530 was William Tebbe, a baker, who had been born about 1480. He

died about 1543 and was himself buried at St. Mary's (*Roll of the Mayors . . . of Leicester*, ed. H. Hartopp, Leicester, 1935, p. 58).

183/17 **seynt Androwes day**: 30 November.

183/19–20 **seynt Nicholas Eve**: 5 December. Cavendish saw the king on the next day.

183/35–184/1 **sir Iohn Gagge**: Sir John Gage (1479–1556), who was Henry VIII's Vice-Chamberlain from 1528 until 1540.

184/4 **sir harry Norres**: For Norris, see above (93/4 and n.).

186/21 **m^r Ratclyfe**: Robert Radcliffe or Ratcliffe (1483–1542), the father of Cavendish's 'yong . . . m^r Ratclyfe' (above, 61/17). The elder Radcliffe had been a prominent courtier throughout the reign of Henry VIII and on 8 December 1529 had been made Earl of Sussex.

187/16 **m^r Secretorye**: Stephen Gardiner, for whom see above (79/16 and n.). Gardiner's being at Hanworth is perhaps to be explained by the fact that he had recently (July 1530) received a grant of arable lands and rents in that honour (*D.N.B.*).

187/21 **the next day**: 7 December.

188/13 **Tezaurisat . . . ea**: Psalms xxxviii, 7 (A.V., xxxix, 6).

188/16–17 **an other . . . lyfe**: Perhaps echoing Ecclesiastes vi, 2, 'Vir, cui dedit Deus divitias et substantiam et honorem, et nihil deest animae suae ex omnibus quae desiderat, nec tribuit ei potestatem Deus ut comedat ex eo, sed homo extraneus vorabit illud.' The 'other person' must, of course, be Henry VIII. Cavendish repeats his account of Wolsey's final sentiments in his poems (II, 13), where the cardinal says: 'Some oon, perchance, shall me thereof dyscharge,/ Whom I most hate, and spend it owt at large.'

APPENDIX A

William Forrest's

The History of Grisild the Second (1558)

Cavendish's reference to Queen Catherine as 'a perfect Grysheld' (35/21-2) assumes a larger significance when viewed in the light of the popularity of the Griselda legend in the sixteenth century. It seems to have been the practice of those who sympathized with the Queen's misfortunes to apply to her the name of Boccaccio's heroine.¹ Thus we find William Forrest dedicating his *History of Grisild the Second*² to Queen Mary as a token of the grief he felt for her mother's sufferings. It is of interest that Forrest finished his poem on 25 June 1558, one day after Cavendish put his signature to his manuscript of the *Life of Wolsey*. In the course of this poem³ Forrest describes many of Wolsey's activities in language which often corresponds quite closely to that of the *Life*. It would seem to be by no means impossible that Forrest and Cavendish were friends, and that Cavendish showed Forrest the manuscript on which he was working at some time before June 1558.

Such a possibility is rendered more likely by the fact that Forrest seems to rely very little on the printed accounts of the Queen which were available to him. He does tell us that the Prior of Leicester Abbey informed him that Wolsey wore a hair shirt during his last illness,⁴ but his major source of information seems to have come from someone who knew the cardinal well:

Of whome [Wolsey] ferdre I shall somewhat disclose

(By honest credyble information)

Howe hee fell into tribulation.

(p. 58; cf. Cavendish's mention of 'some approved
& credible person' at 3/18-19)

¹ The legend was, of course, easily accessible to English readers in Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*.

² Ed. by W. D. Macray for the Roxburghe Club (London, 1875). William Forrest, who had, according to Macray, spent some time at Cardinal College, Oxford, was at this time a royal chaplain. See the account of him in the *D.N.B.*

³ The poem, in which Henry VIII figures as 'Walter' and Catherine as 'Grisild', is in broken-backed stanzas of rhyme royal, the same metre as that of Cavendish's poems.

⁴ And to signyfie that hee was penytent,
Certaynlye, the Pryor I herde thus saye. (p. 61)

Whether or not this 'information' came from George Cavendish remains a moot point, but the following stanzas, in which Forrest lists two causes for the fall of the cardinal, are very close to the tenor and phrasing of Cavendish's narrative:

A certayne younge lorde [Percy] in his Cowrte dyd dwell
 Whoe shewed pretence to this conclusion,
 (Whyther of earnest, other illusion,
 The vearly certayntee scace saye I can)
 For to haue macht with the ladye *Anne*.

His lorde (the *Cardynall*) as hee thearof knwe
 He raged withe hym outragiouslye,
 Protestinge he shoulde his entreprise rwe
 If eauer he herde hym vse her companye;
 This was before she was ordayned ladye;
 Whiche from her knowledge was not kept secret,
 Whearfore longe tyme she muche ynwardlye fret.
 (Cf. the Percy episode in Cavendish, 29/34ff.,
 especially 30/20-2)

'Thother occasion was (as is saide) this:
 When *Walter* on her dyd firste caste his mynde,
 He asked the *Cardynall* what his aduyse is,
 Whoe answerde hym, as after [s]he dyd fynde,
 She was not for hym in anye maner kynde,
 Vnlesse for Concubyne he wolde her take,
 But as his Queene her clearlye to forsake.
 (pp. 58-9)

Forrest's depiction of Queen Catherine parallels Cavendish's account closely. We learn that

In perfecte charitee shee alwayes aboade
 And thanked God howe eauer it dyd frame,
 (p. 57)

and that during the trial, when she made her speech before the king,

Shee saide, to hym she was true wedded Wife,
 All Christendome ouer can wytnes the same,
 So wolde shee acknowledge duryinge her life,
 Howe eauer otherwise hee pleased her to name;
 As for his owne Royalme, for feare they did frame
 To the fulfilling of his fixed mynde,
 Witheout respectinge what Conscience dothe bynde.

Shee added, his Father was thought man of wytt
And wyttelye he wrought. . . .
(pp. 82-3)

Most of these details can, it is true, be found in Hall (p. 755) but the following account of Wolsey's death is almost certainly that of an eye-witness, some of it, no doubt, from the Prior of Leicester Abbey, but some, perhaps, from George Cavendish himself:

Which sodayne nues [Wolsey's arrest] put hym in
mortal fraye;
 Notwithstandinge, withe muche trobeled harte,
 Backwardys to *Lecestre* he dyd reuert.

In whiche journeyinge by the wayes (doubtles)
 Hee tooke certayne pyllys, his stomake to purge,
 Replenysched with greuouse heauynes
 For this sodayne tempestuous surge,
 Rysinge (as he thought) throughe the *Merqueses* grudge;
 So that of necessitye by the waye
 Hee tooke restynge at *Lecestre* Abbaye;

Where, thorowe woorkynge of the said peelys,
(Whiche, as I herde tell, weare too too manye)
And thorowe sorowe hymself he theare fecalys
His life to forgoe witheoute all remeadye.
No longe was the tyme while he dyd theare lye,
Not passinge eyght dayes at the vearly moste,
Tyll he was foarsed to yealde vpp the goste.

Before he departed, right Christyanlyc
He sent for the Pryor and was confest,
The Euchariste moste reuerentlyc
Receauynge into his penytent brest,
Askyng God mercye withe harte moste earnest
For that (in his tyme) by will, deade and thought,
Agaynste His goodnes he had eauer mys wrought.

And to signyfie that hee was penytent,
Certaynlye, the Pryor I herde thus saye,
A shurte of heare was his indument
Next to his bodye, when he thear deaddde lay;
For whome hartelye it behoaueth to praye,
Sithe hee heere ended so penytentlye,
To whome (no doubt) God grauntethe His mercye.

What thoughe he lyued muche remysyuyelye,
 Farre out of the trade of his profession,
 Yeat dyinge (as hee dyd) penytentlye,
 His sowle (no doubtys) hathe heauyns ingression
 By hauynge in harte vycis suppression;
 For, thoughe mannys life bee neuauer so infecte,
 God (speciallye) his ende dothe respecte.
 (pp. 60-1)

This is not the place to go into the many different phases of the development of the Griselda legend in sixteenth-century England, but it may perhaps be noted that among the books (in fact, the only vernacular book) which the humanist Vives recommended for the Princess Mary was 'Gresilda vulgata jam fabula'.¹ Cavendish himself later repeats his reference to the Queen in his poems (II, 97), when he makes Henry VIII say she was like

Unto pacient Greseld, if ever there ware any;
 For lyke hyr paciente there hathe not regned many.

We know also that Ralph Radcliffe had written a play on Griselda in either Latin or English between 1540 and 1542.² It is possible that this is the same play as that known as *The Play of Patient Grissell*,³ generally attributed to John Phillip, which was acted in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Three further versions of the story may be noted: Dekker's *The Pleasant Comoedye of Patient Grissill* (1603);⁴ *The Ancient, True, and Admirable History of Patient Grisel*, a prose tract of 1619; and *The Pleasant and Sweet History of Patient Grissell*, an undated (1630?) tract in prose and verse.⁵

¹ *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, ed. F. Madden (London, 1831), pp. cxxiii-cxxiv.

² It is mentioned by Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, Oxford, 1902, p. 333. See also C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 111-12 and C. W. Roberts, *An Edition of John Phillip's 'Commoedye of Pacient and Meeke Grissil'*, Univ. of Illinois Abstract of Thesis, Urbana, 1938, pp. 6-11.

³ Ed. for the Malone Society (1909) by R. B. McKerrow and W. W. Greg. For the problem of authorship, see Roberts, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Ed. by Grosart in vol. V of *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Huth Library, London, 1886.

⁵ Both the latter pieces were edited for the Percy Society, vol. III, London, 1841, and the former of them also by H. B. Wheatley, London, for the Villon Society, 1885.

APPENDIX B

The Battle of Pavia and the Bohemian Revolt

Cavendish's accounts of the Battle of Pavia (37/1–42/8) and the Bohemian Revolt (179/28–180/22) contain several serious violations of historical fact and embrace errors which go far beyond the simple slips of memory that have been discussed in the Introduction (above, p. xxxvi ff.). Since both of these events play a considerable part in the development of his biography and since he was not an eye-witness to either of them, I have thought it desirable to append the following discussion of the possible sources from which he may have obtained his information.

I. The Battle of Pavia

The revolt of Charles, Duke of Bourbon (1489–1527) from Francis I began in the early 1520s.¹ By 1523 the Duke was negotiating with the agents of Charles V and Henry VIII, with whom he concluded treaties which bound him and his forces to aid them in a coalition against Francis. In August 1524 Bourbon had besieged Marseilles but he was forced to retreat into Italy in September when Francis advanced upon him. The French soon took Milan, fifteen miles north of Pavia, and invested the latter town on 28 October; the Imperial forces, led by Bourbon and Pescara, had meanwhile retired to Lodi, fifteen miles to the east.

In Pavia itself, the gallant Antonio de Leyva commanded the besieged garrison. Despite the difficulty of obtaining supplies, he managed to keep up the morale of his forces, who frequently sallied out against the French army. On the night of 24–25 February 1525 Bourbon and Pescara launched their attack to relieve the town. Their troops

made a breach at three points in the walls of the park [which surrounded Francis's camp]. The soldiers wore white shirts in order that they might recognize each other; they marched in perfect order, in silence. Then, at daybreak, the imperial army penetrated into the park through the breaches. The French artillery at first ravaged Pescara's troops, who were forced to defile on the flank before it,

¹ The best modern account of the battle (followed in this discussion) is in Ernest Lavisse's *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1900–11), V, i, 217–24 (for the events leading up to Bourbon's revolt) and V, ii, 29–37 (for the battle itself).

but, little by little, the Spanish army became concentrated and entered the royal camp.

It was then that Francis I, abandoning his position, deployed his army before its entrenchments: in the front ranks, the men at arms, commanded by himself and flanked by German mercenaries, in the rear the Duke d'Alençon, further off, facing Pavia, La Palice. The king hurled himself at his enemies, thus masking his artillery, and he did it so quickly that the infantrymen could not follow him. Thus, having overthrown those whom he encountered before him, he found himself cut off, his gendarmes decimated by arquebusiers that Pescara had mixed in with his cavalry. Attacked apart [i.e. cut off from their leader], the foot-soldiers succumbed after an energetic struggle; the Swiss fought badly and broke their ranks in disorder. At that moment, Leyva left Pavia and hurled himself on the camp, while the Duke d'Alençon fled from the field of battle. (Lavissee, V, ii, 36, my translation)

The king was surrounded and, though he fought bravely, soon captured. 6,000–8,000 French were killed, 'among them the greatest lords of France'. The plain, says Lavissee, 'was covered with blood for several days'.

So runs a modern retelling of the battle; nor does it differ greatly from the accounts of the sixteenth-century historians, none of whom was so confused about Pavia as Cavendish shows himself to be in his narrative. Although Cavendish is correct in his resumé of the events that led up to the investment of the town, he gets the central situation of the siege itself completely reversed. Bourbon was not in Pavia but instead came to its relief with Pescara. Cavendish could have found a correct account of the matter in Hall (pp. 691–3) but he does not seem to have consulted it on this occasion. Other sixteenth-century historians, though they vary in the details of the battle itself, do not make the mistake of putting the Duke in the town. Thus Sleidan,¹ Guicciardini,² and, later, de Serres³ give versions of the battle that accord fairly well with those of modern historians. Stowe and Holinshed, when they adopted Cavendish's narrative, apparently did not notice his

¹ *A Famouse Cronicle of oure time, called Sleidan's Commentaries*, translated out of Latin into Englishe by Ihon Daus. London, 1560, Sig. K5.

² *The Historie of Guicciardin, containing the warres of Italie and other partes*. . . . Reduced into English by Geffray Fenton. London, 1579, Sigs. 4G^vff. A very full account.

³ *A General Inventorie of the History of France*, by Ihon de Serres, translated by Edward Grimeston, London, 1607, Sigs. Qq3ff. So also in the folio which Thomas Creede published in 1597, *The Mutable and wauering estate of France from the yeare of our Lord 1460, vntill the year 1595*, Sigs. B₄v–B₅v.

mistake, for they print his account of the battle without comment. If Cavendish was following a written source in his description of the battle, I have not been able to trace it.

Cavendish is also wrong when he speaks of a 'league' between Francis I and Henry VIII which Bourbon found in Francis's tent and he 'telescopes' history considerably when he makes the Duke set off for Rome 'immediately' after Pavia.¹ On the other hand, some of his details seem to have behind them a certain air of truth. According to Sleidan, there was a famous oration delivered at the battle, but it was made by Pescara outside the town and not by the Duke.² Another historian tells of the suffering within Pavia:

They that were within *Pavia* suffered no small necessitie of money and munitions, the store of wine beginning also to fayle and all other sorts of vittells, except bread: By reason whereof the launce-knights assembled, and almost in maner of a tumult demanded their pays, wherevnto, besides their owne insolent dispositions, they were pushed on by incitacion of their capteine, who was feared to haue made some secret contract with the French king.³

Thus it would seem that some of Cavendish's details derive in a sketchy way from what must have been items of general news about the battle in the 1520s. Eager to emphasize how great a folly it is 'for any wyse man to take any waytie enterprice for hyme self trustyng all together to his owen wyll not calling for gracc to assist hyme in all his procedynges', and perhaps seduced by his fondness for the 'feigned oration',⁴ he seems to have allowed himself to deal with history in a much more cavalier manner than was his usual practice in his biography.

¹ For these two errors see the historical notes to 37/25-6 and 42/2-3.

² Sleidan, loc. cit.

³ Guicciardini, op. cit., 4F₃v.

⁴ For Cavendish's use of this rhetorical device, which originates in the fictitious speeches of the classical historians, see Wiley's note (op. cit., p. 124). Sidney, in his *Apology* (ed. G. G. Smith, I, 153), speaks deprecatingly of Herodotus and tells how

both he and all the rest that followed him either stole or vsurped of Poetrie their passionate describing of passions, the particularities of battailes, which no man could affirme, or, if that be denied me, long Orations put in the mouthes of great Kings and Captaines, which it is certaine they neuer pronounced.

But it is only in the speeches of the Duke at Pavia that Cavendish can be shown to have actually 'feigned' his orations. The great speeches at the divorce trial seem to be accurately reported. See Appendix C.

II. *The Bohemian Revolt*

Cavendish's relation of Wolsey's deathbed speech contains several historical errors that are just as marked as those which occur in his account of the Battle of Pavia. In this case, however, we know that neither Cavendish nor Wolsey is speaking of events which took place in his own lifetime. The Bohemian Revolt had occurred a hundred years before Wolsey's death and it is quite possible that the cardinal himself was misinformed about some of its central happenings. In any event we cannot place the sole responsibility for this narrative upon Cavendish; he may very well have forgotten some of the words which Wolsey uttered, but it is nevertheless possible that the substance of the narrative stems from Wolsey's own misinterpretation of events rather than from Cavendish's desire to drive his point home by a wilful perversion of history.¹

The principal errors in Cavendish's narrative² concern his statement that 'the King of Bohemia' was at first inclined to favour the reformers but later was forced 'to put harness on his back' and campaign against them. According to Cavendish (or Wolsey), the king was killed in the ensuing battle; since his death, Bohemia has been a lawless and disorderly country. In point of fact, Wenceslaus IV (1361-1419), to whom Cavendish ostensibly refers here, was favourable to the cause of the reformers until 1419, when he ordered the clergy who had been expelled by the Hussites to be restored. He died in the same year, apparently of a stroke that was brought on by the shock he sustained when the Hussites revolted against his decrees. His brother Sigismund (1368-1437) succeeded him and waged a long series of campaigns against the reformers, who would not accept him as king. He finally won them over in 1435, two years before his death. Although it is quite true that some of the nobles did unite with the Hussites against crown and clergy in both reigns (and it is doubtful whether Cavendish refers to Wenceslaus or to Sigismund), there is no historical support whatsoever for Cavendish's statement that the king was killed in battle against them.

Furthermore, if these words are actually Wolsey's, it is extremely difficult to believe that the Cardinal of York, famed diplomat that

¹ It should be noted that Bishop Fisher had also cited the revolt in Bohemia as a precedent for the Protestant uprisings in the sixteenth century. See Pollard (p. 301, note 1).

² These are noticed by Professor René Wellek in his article 'Bohemia in Early English Literature', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xxi (1943), pp. 121-2. I am indebted to Professor Wellek for his help in the elucidation of several obscure points in Cavendish's account.

he was, could have thought that anarchy still existed in Bohemia in 1530—four years after Ferdinand I, Charles V's brother, had ascended the throne in that country. Wolsey, it is true, may have deliberately slanted his words so as to paint the most terrible warning possible for Henry VIII; but one would scarcely think that he would have perverted contemporary history to such a degree.

As a matter of fact, Cavendish's whole speech is remarkably similar in tone and, at times, in actual detail, to the decidedly anti-Protestant history of Bohemia written by Aeneas Sylvius, the great fifteenth-century humanist scholar who had spent some time in Bohemia and had later become Pope.¹ Aeneas, though he seldom perverts actual fact and does not say that a Bohemian king was killed in battle against the Hussites, nevertheless devotes considerable space to virulent attacks on the reformers. Here is his description of their attack on a monastery after Wenceslaus' death:

Neque hoc modo contenti, apud Sclauoniam, [the Hussites] nobile monasterium fratrum praedicatorum extra moenia oppidi situm, a fundamentis deiciunt: Eaque prima ecclesiarum ruina in Hussitarum nouitate facta decurritur in ecclesias, monasteriaque passim: nobilissima superis dicata templa ferro atque igne uastantur nullum ergo regnum aetate nostra in tota Europa, tam frequentibus, tam augustis, tam ornatis templis dicatum fuisse, quam Bohemicum reor. (Sigs. E₆v-E₆)

All this was due to the 'rabies Hussitarum'. Later (Sigs. F₃-F₃v) Aeneas describes the sect of the Adamites, those early Protestants who had everything in common and who were, no doubt, the original for Cavendish's lines (180/20-22) about the reformers who 'lyved all in Comen lyke wyld bestes/ abhorred of all Cristyan nations'.

Thus it appears that Cavendish's version of the Bohemian Revolt derives its tone and some of its details from the most popular account of the Hussites then available to Catholic Western Europe. As Professor Wellek has pointed out in his article, it was not until the reign of Edward VI that a less biased version of Bohemian history was made available to the general public in England. Both Cavendish and Wolsey undoubtedly saw the revolt as a bitterly chaotic anticipation of events that could well take place in England

¹ *Aeneae Silvii Senensis de Bohemorum origine*, Coloniae, 1524, the edition I use here. There were of course earlier editions, e.g. the quarto of ca. 1489 [Basel? Michael Furter?].

and either of them might have been willing to distort the facts further in their effort to devise a convincing exemplum for Henry VIII.

APPENDIX C

The Speeches at the Divorce Trial

Since Hall's account of the divorce proceedings and the speeches of Catherine and Henry VIII often agrees quite closely with the details and sometimes with the actual phrasing of Cavendish's narrative, I reproduce the relevant passages here for the convenience of the reader. They are offered as partial confirmation of the suggestion made in the Introduction (above, p. xxxi) that Cavendish may have used Hall's book to refresh his memory when he began the *Life*.

I. Catherine's Speech at the Divorce Trial

Hall does not report the Queen's words at Blackfriars¹ but he does tell of a visit paid to her by Wolsey and Campeggio some time late in 1528, at which time she addressed the two legates as follows:

Alas my lordes is it now a question whether I be the kynges lawfull wife or no? When I haue been married to him *almost xx. yeres* & in the meane season neuer question was made before? Dyuers prelates yet beyng aliue & lordes also & *pryncie counsailors* with the kyng at that tyme, then adiudged our mariage lawfull and honest, and now to say it is detestible and abhominable, I thynke it greate maruell: and in especiall when I consider, *what a wise prince the kynges father was*, and also the loue and natural affeccion, that Kyng Fernando my father bare vnto me: I thynke in my self that neither of our fathers, were so vncercumspect, so vnwise, and of so small imaginacion, but they forsawe what might folowe of our mariage, and in especiall the Kyng my father, sent to the Courte of Rome, and there after long suite, with great cost and charge obtayned a licence and dispensacion. . . .

(p. 755; cf. the *Life*, 80/17-82/6, especially 81/11-23. I have italicized the words and phrases which Cavendish may be echoing.)

¹ He says only that Catherine protested against the jurisdiction of the court and appealed to Rome at the first session on 18 June. Henry's speech on the 21st (reproduced below) is said to have occurred while the Queen was in the court, not, as Cavendish correctly has it, after she departed.

Catherine, in Hall's account, then goes on to attack Wolsey for having instigated the divorce as a means of revenging himself on Charles V.

II. Henry's Speech at the Divorce Trial

Hall reports how, on 21 June, the king 'saied these wordes in effect folowyng':

My lordes, Legates of the Sea Appostolike, whiche be deputied Iudges, in this great and waightie matter, I most hartely beseeche you, to ponder my mynde and entent, which only is to haue a final ende, *for the discharge of my conscience*: for euery good christen man knoweth what pain, & what vnquietnes he suffreth, which hath his conscience greued, for I assure you on myne honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, & troubled my spirites, that I can scantely study any thyng, whiche should be profitable for my Realme and people. And for to haue *a quietnes* in body and soule, is my desire and request, *and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I haue married for I dare saie that for her womanhode, wisdom, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer Prince had suche another, and therefore if I would willyngly chaunge I wer not wise*: wherfore my suite is to you my Lordes at this tyme to haue a spedy ende, accordyng to right, for the quietnes of my mynde and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

(p. 757; cf. the *Life*, 82/23–84/5)

But even closer to Cavendish's version of Henry's speech at the trial is Hall's report of the king's words to the 'nobility, judges, and counsellors' at Bridewell on 8 November 1528 when he endeavoured to quiet the fears of the London citizens, who were very much on Catherine's side. After telling the false story of how the divorce question first arose during the negotiations for a French marriage for his daughter Mary, the king continued as follows:

Thinke you my lordes that these wordes [i.e. those of the French ambassador to the effect that Mary might be a bastard] touche not my body & soule, thinke you y^t these doynge do not daily & hourly trouble my conscience & vex my spirites, yes we doubt not but & if it wer your owne cause euery man would seke remedy when the peril of your soul & the losse of your inheritaunce is openly layde to you. For this only cause I protest before God & in the worde of a prince, I haue asked counsail of the greatest clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this legate [Campeggio] as a man indifferent only to know the truth and to settle my conscience and

for none other cause as God can iudge. And touching the quene, if it be adiudged by y^e law of God that she is my lawfull wife, there was neuer thynge more pleasuaunt nor more acceptable to me in my life *bothe for the discharge & cleryng of my conscience & also for the good qualities and condicions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the whiche she is descended (as all you know) she is a woman of moste gentlenes, of moste humilite and buxumnes, yea and of al good qualities appertainyng to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this xx. yeres almoste haue had the true experiment, so that if I were to mary againe if the mariage might be good I would surely chose her aboue all other women: But if it be determined by iudgement that our mariage was against Goddes law and clerely voyde, then I shall not onely sorowe the departing from so good a Lady and louyng companion, but muche more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce that I haue so long liued in adultry to Goddes great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my body to inherite this realme. These be the sores that vexe my mynde, these be the panges that trouble my conscience, & for these greues I seke a remedy.*

(pp. 754–5)

APPENDIX D

Some Notes on the Later History of the Life

The only modern study of the influence which the *Life of Wolsey* had on later writers is contained in a long and informative article by P. L. Wiley, who traces the various uses to which Elizabethan and Stuart historians put Cavendish's work.¹ Wiley's account, which does not make use of any manuscript materials, extends down to the time of the Puritan revolution and concludes with a description of the atmosphere in which the 1641 edition was produced. The following notes, which should be considered as supplementary to his researches, are offered in the hope that they may help to elucidate some of the more puzzling aspects of what one might venture to call 'the Cavendish tradition'.²

As Wiley notes, the first historian to make use of Cavendish's narrative was John Stowe who, in his *Chronicles of England* (1580)

¹ P. L. Wiley, 'Renaissance Exploitation of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*', *Studies in Philology*, xliii (1946), pp. 121–46. Prior to this article, the best discussion of Cavendish's posthumous fame was the Rev. Joseph Hunter's pamphlet, 'Who Wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*?'

² Appendix E, on the secondary manuscripts of the *Life*, also contains a great deal of incidental information about its later fortunes.

printed large portions of it from manuscript. In order that his history might not meet with official censure, the tailor-historian showed himself to be quite adept at drawing a fine seam through the pages of Cavendish's story. Every time Cavendish mentions Anne Boleyn or manifests his dislike for the Protestant cause Stowe very carefully deletes the passage. The result is a somewhat tatterdemalion version of the *Life*, a story with its core gone and its tragic motif suppressed. In the sparse pages of Stowe's narrative, the *Life of Wolsey* stands out like a series of purple patches, its richly detailed descriptions contrasting sharply with the mere chronicle of events that precedes and follows it. In 1592 Stowe included even more of Cavendish in his *Annals of England*, still being careful, however, to omit anything that might be construed as casting doubt on the good *mores* of the queen's ancestors.

From Stowe, the *Life* passed to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, whence perhaps it first caught the imagination of Shakespeare and whoever may have been associated with him in the composition of *Henry VIII*.¹ Meanwhile, Thomas Churchyard, picking up some details from Cavendish, had included his 'Tragedy of Cardinal Wolsey' in the 1587 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*,² and Thomas Storer, himself a pupil of Wolsey's Oxford college, had made a quite imaginative use of the *Life* in his poem (1599) on the cardinal. After the succession of James historians no longer had to worry about offending the reigning house and Cavendish's narrative appears, with all the references to Anne Boleyn, in John Speed's *History of Great Britain* (1611, 1623), Francis Godwin's *Annals* (1616), and Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life and Reign of Henry VIII* (1649).³

¹ The *Life* first appeared in the second edition of Holinshed (1587). Thomas Woodcock, one of the printers who collaborated on this folio, was also the scribe who copied out MS. Jones 14. See Appendix E, no. 6, below.

I have not attempted here to enter into the much-vexed question of the authorship of *Henry VIII*, but it might be suggested that a closer examination of the uses to which the play's author[s] put the *Life* (a subject which to my knowledge has never been fully investigated) might cast additional light on the composition of the play itself.

² Churchyard perhaps worked from Stowe, but his poem contains many phrases that are direct from the *Life*. Thus he speaks of Wolsey's father as 'a plain poor honest man' and makes the lamenting cardinal speak of the time when 'degree of school I had/And Bachelor was, and I a little lad.' See the reprint of his poem in the Temple Classics edition of the *Life of Wolsey*, pp. 265-6 *et passim*.

³ For these writers and their use of Cavendish, see Wiley, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-8. To their works may be added Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1643), a seventeenth-century imitation of Suetonius which draws upon Cavendish quite heavily in its summary of Wolsey's career (Sigs. Bbb2v-Eeev).

Lord Herbert, whose four folio volumes of collections for his *Life* are now the property of Jesus College, Oxford,¹ possessed a manuscript of Cavendish's work which he used with considerable discrimination. But by 1649 there were printed copies of the *Life of Wolsey* available to the general reader.

The edition of Cavendish which was issued from the press of William Sheares in 1641 has occasioned a good deal of comment from critics and historians.² Sheares's quarto volume, which appeared with the title, *The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, The great Cardinal of England, Containing his life and Death*, etc., was undoubtedly issued as a propaganda piece in the Puritan campaign against Archbishop Laud which had been raging openly since the suppression of the Star Chamber in 1640. It is a drastically foreshortened version of Cavendish's narrative, though it does not, as Marie Schütt (p. 143) notes, disturb the major outlines of his *Life*. One can scarcely help sympathizing with those early editors like Wordsworth and Singer, who, comparing the manuscripts with the printed copies, were often led to express their scorn for whoever was responsible for that first edition.³

The surprising thing about this controversy over the merits of the 1641 edition is that no one seems to have noticed that there were in fact *two* editions of the *Life* in the early 1640s, one of them (Sheares's) published with its printer's name and the date '1641' and another, with a different title page and no date, issued 'for the good of the Commonwealth'.⁴ This second quarto edition, which is an entire resetting of Sheares's volume, has the following title page in the British Museum copy (Press Mark, 275. g. 27):

The/ Negotiations/ of/ Thomas Woolsey,/ The great Cardinall of England, Containing his life and death, Viz./ 1. The Originall of his Promotion./ 2. The continuance in his Magnificence./ 3. His Fall, Death, and Buriall./ [Rule, broken] Composed by One of his owne Servants, being his Gentleman-Vsher./ [Rule, broken] With many Errours Corrected, and some/ Additions Inlarged./ [Rule, broken]

¹ On deposit at the Bodleian Library.

² Their opinions and judgements are neatly summarized in Marie Schütt's 'Die englische Biographik der Tudor Zeit', *Britannica*, i (Hamburg, 1930), 142. She finds them all guilty of 'ein merkwürdiges Fehlurteil'.

³ Wiley conjectures that William Prynne had a hand in the preparation of the book, a suggestion that need not conflict with Miss Schütt's attempt to prove that the manuscript upon which it is based was once in Bacon's possession.

⁴ Sheares's edition is *Wing*, C 1619, but *Wing* did not record the other edition.

Whereunto Is added a Parallell between *Thomas* Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury./ [Rule, broken] London:/ Printed for the good of the Commonwealth.

Where Sheares's edition stops with the end of the *Life* this copy adds a verse epitaph on Wolsey (Sigs. 0₄–0₄v) and one paragraph (0₄v) entitled 'A true Description or rather a Parallel betweene Cardinall *Woolsey*, Arch-Bishop of York; and *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, etc.'

This concluding paragraph is evidently a summary of the Puritan tract entitled *A True Description or rather a Parallel betweene Cardinall Wolsey*, etc.¹ which, in some copies of the 'for the good of the Commonwealth' edition, was appended to the *Life* itself after the verse epitaph.² It would thus seem that the 'for the good of the Commonwealth' edition represents a clandestine (and perhaps pirated) version of Sheares's original publication in which no specific parallels had been drawn between Wolsey and Laud. Since the verse epitaph on Wolsey in this second edition has not, to my knowledge, been previously reprinted, I give it here in full:

What State Geometry can take or find
The large dimensions of great Woolsies mind?
Whose Cedar-honours growing tall and straite,
Aspir'd to over-top the King and State;
While his ambition did in Oxford reare
A Colledge, on whose Gates he did not feare
To mount above the power of Sovereignty;
And to create himselfe an upstart thing,
Whose Clergy-greatnesse should transcend a King.
While that he forged in his working braine
Such cunning plots, whereby he did obtaine
Possessions of the Kings heart, by whose Grace
He freely was invested in the place
Of Yorks Arch-Bishopricke, and made Counsellour
Of State, then rais'd to be high Chancellour
Of the great Seale of England; and withall
The Pope advanced him a Cardinall.

Thus did he sit a while to be Times wonder
Secure in honour, fearing not Joves Thunder,
Nor dreading that his honours could bee broke;
And rent asunder by Fates raging stroke;

¹ Reprinted by Singer (1825 ed., II, 230–43).

² For example, in the Bodleian copy (Gough Oxon. 147). Another copy in that library (4° B. 64 Jur.) does not contain the 'True Description' although the last page of the epitaph has the catchwords 'a Parallel'.

Raigning in height of glory from low Birth
 To rivall Heaven, and affright the Earth:
 For wheresoever Woolsies name was heard
 In England, it was both ador'd and fear'd.
 But angry Fortune that exhal'd and rais'd
 By her owne power this Meteor, which long blazed
 Bright as a Comet, cloath'd now with a frowne
 Her threatning brow, and quickly cast him downe.
 'The King tooke off some honours, that he might
 Both know his greatnesse, and affright
 His growing pride; which fledg'd with a strong wing
 Did strive to fly a pitch above the King.
 And being summond now to meete the danger,
 Of making Answer to the Kings just anger;
 His guilty Conscience made his Judge, did cause
 Poyson to execute the power of Lawes:
 And though from this great Clergy Phenix spring
 Many great Bishops, Heaven down can bring
 Their usurp'd 'Titles, and can make them have
 Before their death an undeplord Grave:
 For though this Cardinall did in greatnesse trust,
 His Fame doth now lye buried with his dust.

Sheares's 1641 edition was reprinted in 1667,¹ 1706,² and 1708³ without any change in the text and it was not until the nineteenth century that a better text was offered to the public. Since the time of Wordsworth and Singer there have been numerous popular editions, none of them with any final textual authority.

APPENDIX E

The Secondary Manuscripts

The following catalogue of the extant secondary manuscripts of the *Life of Wolsey* should not be considered exhaustive, but it will

¹ *The Life and Death of Thomas Woolsey*, etc., London, for Dorman Newman.

² *The Memoirs of that Great Favourite, Cardinal Woolsey*, London, for B. Bragg. The Bodleian copy is Gough Oxon. 132.

³ Really a re-issue, with a new title page attributing the work to Sir William Cavendish, of Bragg's 1706 edition. Bragg had probably been influenced by White Kennet's sermon on the death of the Duke of Devonshire in which the *Life* was ascribed to George's brother for the first time. For a full discussion of this edition see Hunter's article (in Singer, 1825 ed., II, lxvi-lxvii). There is no copy of the 1708 issue in the British Museum; the Bodleian copy, the only one I have seen, is Gough Oxon. 12.

perhaps serve as a fairly comprehensive check-list for future students of the strange fortunes which overtook Cavendish's work.¹ I have included a description of all the secondary manuscripts which I have been able to discover or which have been brought to my notice by the helpful investigations of others. More extensive researches than I have been able to undertake might well reveal additional copies which have been preserved in the collections of private individuals or in the continental libraries;² the present list should, however, furnish a nearly complete guide to the manuscripts in the principal libraries of Great Britain and the United States.

The thirty-one³ manuscripts my investigations have brought to light range in date from the 1570s to the eighteenth century. The latest of them (Christ Church, CLV) was transcribed, as its frontispiece tells us, 'by the care and at the expense of the Rev. Mr. John Blackbourn, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge', and was presented to Wolsey's Oxford College by his widow on 10 December 1741. The earliest⁴ takes us back to a date not long after Cavendish completed his autograph copy (1558). Several of the manuscripts⁵ were transcribed after the *Life* had appeared in print in 1641 for the first time, a fact that is not at all remarkable in view of the omissions and corruptions in that edition. Most copies, however, date from Elizabethan and early Stuart times, those years in which Cavendish's *Life* was not available at all in printed form, except for the extracts made from it in the chronicles of the period.

To the student who makes a more minute examination of the

¹ The Rev. Joseph Hunter remarked in 1815 that 'Scarcely any work of this magnitude, composed after the invention of printing, has been so often transcribed' ('Who Wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*', in Singer, 1825 ed., II, xxvii). At the time in which he wrote, Hunter knew of some fifteen manuscripts of the *Life*, not counting the autograph manuscript, which did not come to Singer's attention until 1821.

² It might have seemed likely that the Elizabethan Recusants, attracted by Cavendish's pro-Catholic interpretation of the reign of Henry VIII, would have made use of his work in their own accounts of the period. But I have not been able to find any evidence of Cavendish's influence on either Harpsfield's *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica* or Campion's *Brevis Narratio de Divortio Henrici VIII*, which were printed together at Douai in 1622. It may be noted, however, that Cavendish's sympathetic attitude towards Wolsey would not have appealed to the Catholic apologists any more than it did to their Protestant opponents.

³ Thirty-two if Arundel 152 is included in the total. See below, no. 14a.

⁴ Either Douce 363 or the York Minster manuscript. See below, nos. 2 and 26.

⁵ Christ Church (CLV) and the Folger manuscript (below, nos. 16 and 27). Possibly too one of the Trinity College, Dublin, manuscripts (below, no. 22).

relationships between these secondary manuscripts than I have been able to do, a good deal of valuable information about Elizabethan scribes and scriptoria will inevitably be revealed. The very possession of one of these copies (for almost all of them contain in full Cavendish's attacks on Anne Boleyn) must have been tantamount to treasonable conduct during Elizabeth's reign.¹ Yet the manuscripts continued to be transcribed, several of them, as the anti-Catholic glosses show, by or for men who were ardently sympathetic to the Protestant establishment. Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's High Treasurer, possessed one of the manuscripts (British Museum Add. MS. 48066) and Archbishop Laud was later to present his copy to the Bodleian Library. There is no better contemporary testimony to the esteem in which Cavendish's work was held than this large group of manuscripts that has come down to us.

Yet none of the secondary manuscripts² goes back directly to the autograph itself. All of them omit a long section of the *Life* (61/20–62/30 in the present edition) which describes the boar hunt in France and the 'book' published there against the cardinal. Occasionally a scribe will try to bridge the gap in his original by filling in a few details of his own, but in most cases the lacuna in the original is quite openly acknowledged and a page or two left blank in the copy. It thus appears that all of these manuscripts go back ultimately to a lost original which did not contain the missing lines. Until this manuscript comes to light, we can do no more than conjecture about its contents. The missing lines, which would occupy approximately two pages, or both sides of one leaf in a manuscript of average size, do not contain any material that might have been considered 'superstitious' or 'papistical' and there seems to be no other obvious reason why a scribe should have chosen to exclude them.³ I can only

¹ Did the search that was made of John Stowe's house on 21 February 1569 turn up a copy of Cavendish among the antiquary's books and papers? Stowe certainly owned a copy of the *Life* at some time before 1598 (below, no. 19) and he must have had access to one before 1580 when he printed extracts from Cavendish in his *Chronicles of England*. The account of the search in 1569 is preserved in British Museum MS. Lansdowne 27, art. 37, fol. 36 (printed by Arber, *Stationers' Register*, I, 484). See also A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, p. 39.

² Dugdale 28 (below, no. 3), the only secondary manuscript that contains Cavendish's poems, is a possible exception.

³ There are several compressions and omissions in the secondary manuscripts that can be ascribed to this cause. Thus Cavendish's account of the French king healing his subjects who were diseased with the king's evil (53/28–54/20) is reduced in the secondary manuscripts to something like the following (from the Cambridge manuscript, below, no. 23): 'Thus continued my Lo: and the King in Aymens, the space of two weekes and

suggest that, by some means or other, the page which contained the passage was accidentally torn or lost from the manuscript and that it was this missing manuscript which formed the basic copy for all the extant secondary versions.

But even if these manuscripts had preserved the boar-hunt passage it would not be difficult to demonstrate that the text they offer must stand at a considerable remove from that of the autograph itself. In addition to this major omission, and many minor ones of less significance, the scribes of the secondary manuscripts for the most part treat their original quite freely. Grammar and spelling are, as might be expected, progressively modernized, but many changes in phrasing and occasionally entirely new readings are also introduced into the text. I have not attempted a collation of the thirty manuscripts—which would be necessary if any final certainty about their relationships is to be achieved—but it appears that the transcribers, most of whom, judging by the unevenness of their hands and the mistakes they make, were not professional scribes, did not greatly concern themselves with verbal accuracy as long as the sense of the original could be ascertained. Since this bibliography does not attempt to discuss in detail the variants in the manuscripts, I should like to cite the following passage as a typical instance of the corruption that has overtaken their texts. The reader may compare this version of Cavendish's account of England after the divorce with that in the autograph manuscript (above, 78/14–79/7).

ffor soothe it is a world to consider the desirous will of wilfull princes when they be set and earnestly bent to have their willes fulfilled wherein no reasonable persuasions will suffice and how litle they regarde the daungerous sequele that maye ensue aswell to them selves, as to all their subiectes And aboue all thinges, there is nothinge that makith them more wilfull then carnall love and sensuall affection of voluptuous desire and pleasure of their bodies as was in dede in this <s> case wherein nothinge could be of greater experience then to see what inuentions were surmised, what lawes were enacted what costlye edifications of noble and auncient monasteries were ouerthrowen what diuersitie of opinions then rose, what executions were then comytted, howe manie noble Clerkes and good men were then for the same put to deathe And what alteration of good auncient and wholsome lawes customes, and charitable more, consulting and ffeasting each others [sic] diuers tymes in Aymens, then was my Lo: and the King at Masse, the w^b receaved both the Sacram^t and vpon our Lady day the assumpcion My Lord said Masse before the Regent and the Queene of Navarre, and gaue them the Sacram^t & there the King dressed a number of sicke folkes, etc.' (f. 26).

foundations were turned from the releife of the poore, to utter destruction and desolation almoste to the subuersion of this noble realme/ It is sure to muche pitie to heare or vnderstand the thinges that have since that tyme chaunced and happened to this region the proufe thereof hathe taught vs all inglishe men the experience so lamentable of all good men to be considered. If eyes be not blinded men may see, if eares be not stopped they maye heare and if pitie be not exiled the inward man may lament The Sequele of this pernitiuous and inordinate love although it lasted but a whyle, the plague thereof is not yet ceased which our lord quenche and take his indignation from vs.

(British Museum Add. MS. 4233, ff. 62^v-3, ca. 1600)

I. *Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*¹

1. MS. Bodley 966 (Sum. Cat. 3033)

Large folio, paper, 17" × 11½", bound in red morocco and gold, ca. 1610. A collection of various items from the reign of Elizabeth. The folio runs to xxiv plus 684 pages, all of which are numbered. The *Life* occupies pp. 93-193, with the break in the text coming on p. 125. Roper's *Life of More* follows Cavendish's *Life* on pp. 193-220. This manuscript was presented to the Bodleian in 1620 by Sir Peter Manwood (for whom see below, no. 19).

2. MS. Douce 363 (Sum. Cat. 21938)

Folio, paper, 12½" × 8¾", with seven illustrations (ff. 52^v [2], 57, 58, 71, 76, and 91), two of which were reproduced by Singer (1825 ed., I, 181 and 221). The manuscript is a collection of various items, many of them conjectured by Douce in a frontispiece note to have been written by Dr. John Dee. All of it, however, seems to be in one hand, that of Stephen Batman (d. 1584), who signed his transcription of the *Life of Wolsey* (ff. 48-93) on 1 September 1578. The break in the text is on f. 62. Batman's marginalia express patriotic Protestant views, for example (f. 60), on Francis I curing the king's evil, 'The kinges of England doth cure the same dizease: and therefore no less christian'. This is one of the earliest², if not the earliest, of the

¹ The manuscripts are numbered individually and consecutively from 1 to 30 throughout the catalogue, but I have arranged them in groups according to their present location. It may be noted that the Bodleian, which in addition to its eight secondary manuscripts, also possesses a photostatic copy of the autograph manuscript (MS. Facs. d. 82), is the best single library in which the student may investigate the peregrinations of Cavendish's *Life*.

² The York Minster manuscript may be earlier. See the note on no. 26, below.

secondary manuscripts. The first page of the text, f. 48, is used in the present edition to replace the missing page in Egerton 2402.

3. MS. Dugdale 28 (Sum. Cat. 6518)

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ ", ca. 1550–1660, a collection of items in various hands. The eighth item is an abridgement (ff. 220–8) of Cavendish's *Life* and this is followed (ff. 228^v–64) by his poems, the only extant copy of them outside of the autograph manuscript. The whole manuscript has iv plus 370 leaves. The index in Dugdale's hand (f. 219) assigns the *Life* and poems to a 'Thomas Cavendish'. Two of the poems are signed 'q^d E.C.'

This interesting manuscript poses many problems that I have not been able to solve. It would seem that the scribe, whose handwriting can be dated fairly early, had access either to the autograph or to a copy of it which also contained Cavendish's poems. A long and garbled prose passage from the *Life* is inserted in the poems immediately following the legend of Cromwell (f. 239). In addition, the manuscript contains a stanza (from the poem on the Duke of Suffolk) which is not in the autograph. It runs as follows (f. 260^v):

T'o the great sclaud^r & blot of his name,
his credyt ys lost and so ys his estymacion,
and he confused, alas he was to blame
hymselfe to overthrowe, and all his generacion
against god nowe howe *can* he make purgacion
y^t so against nature vnnaturally hath wrought,
destroying all his bloud & brought hymselfe to naught/

On the other hand, the scribe omits, from the final epitaph on Queen Mary, four stanzas which refer directly to Rome and to 'Popish practices'. These are the stanzas beginning 'Hyghe prieste of Rome', 'Which late restored', 'Whan sacred aulters', and 'O Virgin Mary' (Singer, 1825 ed., II, 166–9).

4. Gough Oxon. 22¹

This is actually a copy of the 1667 edition (London, for Dorman Newman, 8vo) which has been entirely revised and corrected in a fine italic hand. The fly leaf tells us that it was in 1676 the property of a 'Mary Coney' and that it came into the hands of the collector William Herbert in 1773. In addition, the fly leaf

¹ See below, p. 288.

contains a list of previous editions and a short account of some of the extant manuscripts which had come to Herbert's notice.

The scribe who made the long series of corrections worked from a manuscript which, as his marginal notations tell us, contained seventy-four folios. An examination of the secondary manuscripts shows that the copy from which he took his revisions was in all probability Harley 428 (below, no 12), a manuscript of seventy-four folios that, like Gough Oxon. 22, marks the break in the text on ff. 24^v-5. To illustrate the meticulousness with which the corrections in the printed copy were made, I quote the opening lines of the text: 1667 edition: 'It seemeth no wisdom to credit every light tale, blazed about in the mouth of vulgars, for we dayly, etc.' Gough Oxon. 22 corrects this to: 'Mee seemes it weare no wisdom to credytt every light tale, blaised about by the blasphemous mouth of the rude commonaltie, for we dayly, etc.'

5. MS. Jones 12 (Sum. Cat. 8919)

Folio, paper, 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ " \times 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", 194 ff., ca. 1650, contains only the *Life*. A good scribe's copy. The break in the text occurs on f. 68, where the scribe has noted 'Here was something left out of the originall'.

6. MS. Jones 14 (Sum. Cat. 8921)

Folio, paper, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 8", iii plus 365 ff., contains five items, of which the *Life* is number one (ff. 1-97). The manuscript, which contains many marginal comments and attempts to bridge the gap in the text on f. 33^v, was transcribed by Thomas Woodcock, as his signature on f. 97 attests. Woodcock, an Elizabethan printer, was one of the men who joined together to produce the great Holinshed folio of 1587, a work that makes use of Cavendish's *Life* in considerable detail. He died (Arber, *Stationers' Register*, II, 267) 'about the xxiith of Aprill last past' (1593).

7. MS. Laud misc. 591.

Folio, paper, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ " \times 8", 128 ff., contains only the *Life*. The break in the text, which the scribe has attempted to fill in, occurs on f. 84. A frontispiece picture of Wolsey is an engraving by Elstrack, the same as that which appears in the 1667 edition. There are many marginal glosses and underlined passages in the text. This manuscript was once the property of Archbishop Laud, who presented it to the Bodleian in 1636. In November 1951 an endleaf was raised to reveal the name 'William Langham' and the date 1613. This is

undoubtedly the same Langham who transcribed the manuscript and left the following inscription on f. 128^v:

Ex manuscripto Rogeri Manwood olim/
capitalis baronis de Scaccario dominæ
Elizabethæ nuper Reginæ Angliæ
fideliter extract.
Per me Guilielmum Langham
Notarium publicum.

Sir Roger Manwood (1525–92) was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer on 17 November 1578 and held that office until he was arraigned for bribery in April 1592. He died on 14 December of that year. His eldest son, Sir Peter Manwood, possessed at least two copies of the *Life* in manuscript. See above, no. 1, and below, no. 19.

8. MS. Rawlinson D.104

Quarto, paper, 8½"×6½", 118 ff., contains only the *Life* with William Marshall's engraving of Wolsey as a frontispiece on f. 1. The handwriting is *ca.* 1600 and the manuscript, according to a frontispiece inscription, 'erat ex libris Georgii Berkley'. The gap in the text occurs between ff. 71 and 78 and a later hand has transcribed the table of contents and other material from the 1641 edition into the blank pages. There are a few marginal glosses.

II. Manuscripts in the British Museum

9. Additional MS. 4233

Folio, paper, 11¾"×7½", 186 ff., *ca.* 1600–50. F. 2 contains a short life of the author, 'William Cavendish', written by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1759. This ascription of the *Life* to William is contradicted by the title of the work itself (f. 4^v), which assigns it to George. The manuscript contains only the *Life*, with the break in the text coming on ff. 49^v–50. A later hand has tried to fill up the gap by summarizing. This manuscript is described in Ayscough's Catalogue of the British Museum Manuscripts (1782), I, 86.

10. Additional MS. 48066.¹

Folio, paper, vellum wrapper, 12"×8", contains a series of tracts, *ca.* 1600, with many of the headings in Burghley's hand. The *Life*

¹ Formerly MS. Yelverton 72, in the collection of the Calthorpe family. For a further description, see Harpsfield's *More* (ed. Chambers, E.E.T.S., o.s., 186), p. xvii.

occupies ff. 90–165, with the break in the text on f. 114. Harpsfield's *Life of More* is also included in this manuscript (ff. 319–73). The contents of the manuscript are described in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. (1870), p. 43.

11. MS. Harley 35

Folio, paper, $12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$, ca. 1600. The manuscript contains some 48 items, of which the *Life* is number 32 (ff. 342–51). The text is fairly good as far as it goes, but it breaks off on f. 351 with the words 'well was that nobleman and gent' that could preferre a tall yeoman to his seruice. Now . . .' (18/23–6 in the present edition). This manuscript is described in the 1808 Catalogue of the Harleian Collection, I, 5.

12. MS. Harley 428

Folio, paper, $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, late sixteenth century, 74 ff., contains only the *Life*, followed by a number of blank leaves. The break in the text occurs on ff. 24^v–5, there is another short gap on f. 13. It was apparently from this manuscript that the corrections and revisions in Gough Oxon. 22 were taken (see above, no. 4). Harley acquired this manuscript from John Strype (Harleian Catalogue 1808, I, 251) who had obtained it from a 'Mr. Woodward' (Harleian Miscellany, 1810 edition, V, 126).

13. MS. Lansdowne 904

Folio, paper, $11\frac{5}{8}'' \times 6\frac{7}{8}''$, ca. 1600, in very poor condition, 111 ff. Some of the text has been lost at both the beginning and the end in this manuscript. It begins (f. 1) with the words 'Bedes, The master of the wardropp and .10. persons in the Landery, etc.' and ends (f. 111^v) with 'soe I would quoth the Lord Percie but in this matter I have gon. . . .' But the last two leaves actually belong to an early part of the *Life* and the text really ends on f. 109^v with the words 'Sir quoth My Lord I trowe that Mr Kingston is Constable of the Tower Yea what. . . .' (172/4–5 in the present edition). The break in the text at the boar-hunt passage occurs on f. 43. This manuscript is described in the 1819 Catalogue of the Lansdowne Collection, Part II, p. 226.

14. MS. Sloane 848

Quarto, paper, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$, apparently an early seventeenth-century commonplace book, which, on ff. 14–14^v, contains a series of notes

taken from Cavendish's *Life*. Evidently the compiler never completed his memoranda, for the last entry reads 'The k. came in a Maske like Sheapards'. The manuscript contains a wide variety of notes and jottings including extracts from 'the life of Iohn Picus Erle of Mirandula out of Sr Tho. Moore' and a series of skeleton plots for plays.

14a. MS. Arundel 152

Folio, paper, 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", a collection of materials for a life of Bishop Fisher. The latest date that can be assigned to this manuscript is 8 December 1575 (see Chambers's *Harpsfield*, p. ccxiii). Although not strictly a copy of Cavendish's *Life* this manuscript contains long extracts taken from it; I mention it here because it may well be the earliest instance of Cavendish's influence on other writers. The passages from Cavendish that were ultimately used in the *Life of Bishop Fisher* are carefully noted in Van Ortroys edition of the latter work, *Analecta Bollandiana*, x (1891), 121-365, and xii (1893), 97-281. The compiler of the collection or one of his informants certainly knew someone who was closely associated with the cardinal in the last months of his life. The following note, it would seem, could have come only from Cavendish's book, from the gentleman-usher himself, or, possibly, from someone who, like him, had been present at Wolsey's death:

And yet (god be thanked) I haue credibly byn infourmed by sundry good & [wise] 'credible' personages that weare abowt him & knewe mth of his secretes, [doynges], that after he once espyed the sequele of his doynge, he lyved in great sorrow & repentance for te same all his lyfe after. And being at Yorke a yere & more before his death in the kinges heavy displeasure, he there lamented all the whole that euer he flattered so mth wth the kyng and neglected the displeasure of all mighty god. and to that effect he also sent a message to the kinge a little before his death by Sr Wyllm Kyngstone then constable of the tower. desyring him for goddes sake to procede no further in this busynes of his dyvorce what so euer he had said to him before, but rather to arme & prepare him self against those horrible heresies duly entring into his realme, lesse by overmth negligence in repressing them at the first, he should en<d>aunger him self & his wholl realme so farre, that at last the sore might be growen incurable. where of he shewed the example to be yet fresh in the realmes of Boheme & hungary. Many other like wordes he vttered to that effect wherein his repentance largely appeared.

(f. 25, cancellations in angular brackets)

It is extremely unfortunate that this very valuable manuscript was damaged in a fire at the binder's on 10 July 1865. Of the original 332 leaves only 313 remain, many of these, in Van Ortroÿ's words, 'dans un pitoyable état'.

III. *Manuscripts in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*

15. MS. CLIV

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{8}" \times 7"$, ca. 1600, 172ff. The break in the text occurs on f. 57, where the scribe has written 'heere was some thing left out in the original'.

16. MS. CLV

Folio, paper, $13" \times 8"$, 115ff., early eighteenth century, presented to Christ Church, according to its inscription, on 10 December 1741, by the widow of the Rev. Mr. John Blackbourn, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, at whose care and expense it was transcribed. The break in the text occurs on f. 20^v and on f. 52^v the scribe has interpolated a long passage from the 1667 edition.

IV. *Manuscripts preserved at Delapre Abbey, Northampton*

17. MS. Finch Hatton 135¹

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{4}" \times 8"$, ca. 1600. The text is incomplete, ending with the words 'between whom was like to ensue great murther unless some mean might be used to redress the inconvenience that was like to endure and daily grow' (145/3-6, in the present edition). There is the usual break at the boar-hunt passage. The manuscript contains a few notes in the hand of Christopher, Lord Hatton (1632-1706).

18. MS. Fitzwilliam (Milton) Misc. Vol. 51

Folio, paper, $12" \times 8\frac{1}{2}"$, ca. 1600. This manuscript also has the gap at the boar-hunt passage. The beginning of the text is missing and a good deal of the first quire, so Mr. King informs me, 'has been well chewed by mice in the right-hand margin'. The first words now surviving are 'in crimson velvet with a saddle of the same and gilt stirrups' (23/32-3 in the present edition). The text of the *Life* is followed by seven documents which relate to Wolsey and to the divorce trial.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. P. I. King, Archivist of the Northamptonshire Record Office, for the description of this and the following manuscript.

V. *Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library*

19. MS. Lambeth 179

Folio, partly parchment and partly paper, $11\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{3}{8}''$, 313 ff., a collection of various items. The *Life* occupies ff. 246–313^v. The *Life of More* by Ro: Ba: is on ff. 199–243. The handwriting of the Cavendish *Life* is ca. 1575–1600. The break in the text occurs on ff. 266^v–68. On f. 313^v is the following inscription:

My book. An^o: [16] 1598./ Pe: Manwood.

Wrytten by my man Rich. I.

borrowed y^o originall of M^r Iohn

Burrowes/ Iohn Stow/.

Thus this manuscript belonged both to Stowe and to Sir Peter Manwood (d. 1625), the son of Sir Roger Manwood who, it will be recalled, was the owner of the manuscript from which William Langham copied MS. Laud 591 (above, no. 7). Sir Peter Manwood also possessed MS. Bodley 966 (above no. 1) which he gave to the Bodleian in 1620. I have not been able to identify the 'John Burrowes' to whom Stowe refers. Lambeth 179 was adopted as a basic text by Wordsworth in his edition of the *Life* (*Ecclesiastical Biography*, 4th ed., 1853, I, 461–672). It is described in the 1930 Lambeth Catalogue, p. 282.

20. MS. Lambeth 250

Folio, paper, $11\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{3}{8}''$, 475 ff., a collection of 31 items, of which Cavendish's *Life* is no. 4 (ff. 73–154^v). The break in the text occurs on f. 100. Several of the items that precede and follow the *Life* are dated 1586 and were transcribed by the same hand. It is thus likely that the Cavendish manuscript is also of this date. On f. 1 of this manuscript is written 'This boke ys myn/ Iohn fford'. This manuscript was also used by Wordsworth in his edition. Its contents are described on p. 35 of the 1812 Lambeth catalogue.

VI. *Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*¹

21. Trinity College MS. No. 180 (Press Mark B. 2. 12)

Folio, paper, $11\frac{5}{8}'' \times 7\frac{3}{8}''$, a composite volume of works, mainly theological, copied about 1600. The *Life* occupies ff. 284–321 and omits the whole of the boar-hunt passage from the words 'Then the

¹ I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Parke, Librarian of Trinity College, for the description of this and the following manuscript.

king returned, etc.' to 'They be matters so slanderous' inclusive (60/12-63/24 in the present edition). The manuscript seems to have come to the library from Archbishop Ussher (1581-1656).

22. Trinity College MS. No. 731 (Press Mark G. 4. 9)

Folio, paper, $11\frac{3}{4}" \times 7\frac{1}{8}"$, a collection of five items, all of them written in a neat hand of the middle seventeenth century. The *Life* runs from f. 55 to f. 174 and, like the edition of 1641, is divided into twenty chapters. Mr. Parke was not able to compare the text with that of the 1641 edition, but it appears likely that the manuscript was copied after that date, even if it is not a direct transcript of the edition itself. The manuscript was presented to the library by Hieronymous Alexander in 1674.

VII. *Other Manuscripts in Great Britain*

23. Cambridge University Library MS. Mm. III. 6

Folio, paper, $12\frac{3}{4}" \times 8"$, early seventeenth century, 86 ff., contains only the *Life*, with the break in the text on f. 29^v. This manuscript has many corrupt readings, giving, for example, the astounding figure of '1800' for the number of persons in Wolsey's household. On the fly leaf is written 'From the library of Richard Holdsworth, D.D., Master of Emmanuel College. 1664' and on fol. 1 the name 'Tho: Nott'.

24. College of Arms MS. Arundel 51

Quarto, paper, $8\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{5}{8}"$, a collection of miscellaneous items. The Cavendish *Life* is separately numbered and occupies 92 folios with the break in the text coming on f. 32. There are a few marginal glosses and one cancelled folio (92) which repeats part of f. 85. The manuscript was given by Henry Duke of Norfolk in 1678.

25. The Duke of Northumberland's MS. (at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland) No. 466¹

Folio, paper, $11" \times 6\frac{7}{8}"$, 134 ff., contains only the *Life*, with the break in the text occurring on f. 43^v. The handwriting is *ca.* 1600 and there are a few marginal glosses which refer the reader to passages in the 1641 edition. A prefatory note in the hand of Bishop Percy compares the manuscript with the seventeenth-century printed copies.

¹ With the Duke's permission, this manuscript has been examined from the microfilm deposited in the Library of Congress.

26. York Minster Library MS. XVI D. 1^a.

Folio, paper, $12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{8}''$, 70 ff., contains the *Life* only with the break on f. 20. This manuscript was formerly the property of Toby Matthew (d. 1628), Archbishop of York, whose signature appears on the first page of the text. Miss Brunskill, Assistant Librarian at York Minster, tells me that this signature is almost certainly in Matthew's youthful handwriting, i.e. it corresponds to the signature he used before 1570. If her characterization of the signature is correct, this manuscript is almost certainly the earliest of the extant secondary manuscripts. There are a few marginal glosses and Matthew has again signed his name at the end of the *Life* on f. 70^v. Wordsworth took some readings from this manuscript for his edition of Cavendish.

VIII. *Manuscripts in the United States*

27. Folger MS. (Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.)
No. 759.¹

Folio, paper, $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$, 53 ff., contains the *Life* only with the break on f. 17^v. This manuscript bears the inscription 'Roger Bradshaigh' and the date 1659 (erroneously given in De Ricci's catalogue as '1569').

28. Harvard MS. (Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.) MS. Eng. 764

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$, 109 ff., contains the *Life* only with the break on ff. 35–6^v. The handwriting is *ca.* 1600. This manuscript was formerly MS. 6930 in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps and was acquired by the Harvard Library on 3 May 1946.

29. Huntington MS. (H. E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California) HM 182

Folio, paper, $11'' \times 7\frac{1}{8}''$, 123 ff., contains the *Life* only and marks the break at the boar-hunt passage with a blank page. The script is *ca.* 1600. The name 'Henrie Farleigh' is stamped on each cover. According to De Ricci, Farleigh is presumably to be identified with writer connected with St. Paul's from 1616 to 1622. This manuscript was in Singer's possession at the time when he prepared his edition of the *Life*. Prior to his acquisition of it, it was among the duplicates in the Duke of Norfolk's library (see Singer's description, 1825 ed., I, xv, note).

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Giles E. Dawson, Curator of Manuscripts at the Folger Library, for the description of this manuscript.

30. Yale MS. (Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.)
MS. Vault Shelves Cavendish

Quarto, paper, $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$, 119ff., ca. 1600–50. The *Life* runs from f. 1 to f. 90 with the break on f. 31^v. Ff. 91–119^v contain the last three chapters of Cresacre More's *Life of More*, first published in 1626.¹

[Additional Note on Gough Oxon. 22. (See p. 279)]

Mr. N. R. Ker has drawn my attention to the alterations and insertions in this book. They are undoubtedly in the hand of Humfrey Wanley, who, as is shown by the following extract from one of his letters to Dr. Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, once proposed to write a life of Wolsey:

As to your conferring with Mr. Dean of Christ-church about my Intention of publishing an account of the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, I return you many thanks. But if my intentions shall have the Honor of his Approbation. I shall go much farther than the setting of Cavendish in his own true light. For that Author was not made privy to very many important Affairs which concern'd his Master, or pass'd through his hands; and which have not been fully set forth (for ought that I have yet found) to this day. When the Parliament sits, I will not fail to wait on Mr. Dean with my book, and have the benefit of his Advice thereon. . . . M^r Bagford at his return from Oxford, told me that he [Dr. Hudson, Bodley's librarian] has an MS relating to Cardinal Wolsey, but what it was he could not say, only that the Doctor was pleas'd to show an Inclination of lending it to me if there should be occasion. I would gladly know what it contains, and then I can easily guess whether it will afford any fresh matter. . . .²

J. A. W. B.]

¹ Since this appendix was written I have learned of the existence of another manuscript of the *Life*, although I have not been able to discover its present whereabouts. On 30 March 1936 the '*Life of Cardinal Wolsey*' was sold at Sotheby's from the collection of Major Q. E. Gurney, D.L., of Bawdeswell Hall, Norfolk. The catalogue, in which the manuscript is Item 90, describes it as a 'Manuscript on paper. 194 leaves. Not quite perfect at end. Unbound. From the collection of Sir H. Spelman.' This description does not tally with that of any of the thirty manuscripts listed above. It was bought by L. Chubb.

² Bodl. MS. Ballard 13, f. 119 (10 Nov., 1708).

GLOSSARY

The glossary is not a complete concordance, but contains words occurring in the *Life* the forms or meanings of which are not easily recognizable. No attempt has been made to record such normal Elizabethan variants as *y* for *i*, *s* for *c* or *c* for *s*, *c* for *t* in *-cion*, *en-* for *in-*, *the* for *thee*, *than* for *then* or *then* for *than*, etc. The reduced definite article *th-*, which is often combined in the text with a following noun or pronoun beginning with a vowel (as *thexpectacion*, *theon* 'the one') is ignored in the glossary except in *thether* 'the other'.

Entries marked with an asterisk indicate a form or sense not recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

abate *v.* bring down, reduce 29/2, etc.

abhomyable *adj.* abominable 86/14, etc.

abiecte *n.* outcast, degraded person 172/24.

accompte *v.* account, reckon up 22/26, etc.

accordyng *adv.* accordingly 148/13.

accustomably *adv.* customarily 151/10.

accustomed *ppl. a.* customary 167/9.

actes *n. pl.* saintly deeds 35/22.

admonysshed (of) *pp.* warned against errors 48/14.

aduauncyng *pr. p.* moving forward 121/16.

aduertised *pp.* notified, informed 23/6, etc.

adustum *adj.* 173/34. *See n.*

advyement *n.* observation 27/28; discretion 33/2.

affecte *n.* passion, lust 75/5.

affiaunce *n.* trust, reliance 96/3, etc.

Agnus *n.* Agnus Dei 67/2.

alhalouday, **alhaloutyd** *n.* feast of All Saints, 1 November 104/26, 25, etc.

alie *n.* alley 127/27.

allewer *v.* allure, win over 149/27.

allowed *ppl. a.* approved 75/18.

allowyng *pr. p.* accepting as true 48/11.

almery, **almosory** *n.* almonry 19/23, 162/6.

almosynner *n.* almoner 12/14.

alternatly *adv.* in alternate order 64/29.

ambassette *n.* embassy 7/23, etc.

***ambassatorie** *n.* ambassador 77/12.

annele *v.* anneal, anoint 181/27.

anowghe *adv.* enough 130/28.

apertly *adv.* manifestly, clearly 128/6.

apon *prep.* upon 150/26.

apparitor *n.* officer of an ecclesiastical court 17/22, 79/17.

appoynt *v.* point out 27/26.

appoynted *v. pt.* decreed, granted 37/22, 122/22.

approved *ppl. a.* acknowledged, tested 88/26; proved by experience 107/29.

appurtenaunt *adj.* relating, pertinent 47/22, etc.

appurteynyng *pr. p.* pertaining, belonging 24/35, etc.

a ray *n.* array, order 52/17–18.

armonye *n.* harmony 25/20.

***armyng shoes** *n. pl., appar.* shoes worn with armour 55/18.

arrogauuncye *n.* arrogance 182/3.

assay *n.* tasting 168/13.

assignement *n.* allotment 125/6, 130/25.

asskymouche *n.* skirmish 15/10. *See escramouche.*

- assocyatted** *ppl. a.* accompanied 66/34.
- assoyll** *v.* clear up, resolve 136/2.
- assuraunce** *n.* marriage engagement 34/9; security 117/19.
- assured** *pp.* made safe, secured 65/16.
- astoned, astonyed** *pp.* struck mute with amazement 93/4, 102/23.
- attendure** *n.* attainer 125/20.
- *auctory** *n.* authority 116/6, 157/1.
See n. (on 116/6).
- auctoryte** *n.* authority 4/20, *etc.*
- avauncyng** *vbl. n.* promoting 10/3; moving forward 16/1.
- avoyde** *v.* make void 32/12, 86/5; belch 168/17; eject by excretion 173/33; *refl.* withdraw (myself) 32/3.
- axe** *v.* ask 84/9, *etc.*
- ayenst** *prep.* against, in preparation for 110/25.
- bagges** *n. pl.* badges 6/1.
- bakhowsse** *n.* bakehouse, bakery 19/15.
- bankett** *v. trans.* entertain at a banquet 67/29; *v. intr.* 72/26.
- Bartholmewetyd** *n.* feast of St. Bartholomew, 24 August 92/3.
- barynes** *n.* barrenness 181/16.
- based** *pp.* lowered, humbled 6/9; *seated at a lower level 116/23.
- basse** *adj.* base, low-lying 49/28, 55/21.
- basser** *adj.* baser, lower 82/28.
- bassnes** *n.* baseness, lowness 16/19.
- batere peces** *n. pl.* battery pieces, siege guns 55/35.
- baudkyn** *n.* a rich embroidered stuff 99/8.
- baylles** *n. pl.* bulwarks 24/17.
- be** *prep.* by 125/6, *etc.*
- beafes** *n. pl.* beeves 66/5.
- bedman** *n.* beadsman 118/35.
- bestowed** *ppl. a.* placed, employed 108/33.
- blanked** *v. pt.* nonplussed 95/34.
- blasphemous** *adj.* abusive, slanderous 3/2.
- blazed** *ppl. a.* proclaimed (as with a trumpet) 3/2.
- bokerham** *n.* buckram 162/5.
- bolle** *n.* bowl 22/22.
- bord** *n.* table 21/3.
- boted** *v. pt.* booted, availed 157/14.
- *bottell chayn** *n., appar.* a chain used to fasten a bottle top or cork to a bottle 103/15.
- bowelles** *n. pl.* bowels 72/28.
- *boystors** *adj.* boisterous, of rough or stiff texture 151/15.
- brake** *v. pt.* broke 32/26.
- brake** *n.* snare, difficulty 44/2.
- brond** *n.* brand 29/32.
- brotherne** *n. pl.* brethren 147/20.
- brute** *n.* bruit, fame 73/8.
- bryge, brygge** *n.* bridge 26/16, *etc.*
- bugett** *n.* budget, bag 16/18.
- bullyons** *n. pl.* bullions, ornamental fringes 51/28.
- burgious** *n. pl.* burgesses 112/21.
- busse** *n.* bush 61/2.
- butt lengthes** *n. pl.* distance between two archery butts 52/20.
- byen venewe** *n.* welcome 51/20.
- caffa** *n.* a rich silk cloth 23/11, 99/1.
- candyllmas** *n.* Candlemas, 2 February 122/14, *etc.*
- cast** *n., a cast of brede* the quantity of bread made at one time 22/20, 133/15.
- cators** *n. pl.* caterers 68/7.
- certyntie** *n.* quantity 149/14.
- chaffed** *pp.* scolded 86/28.
- Chaffer of waxe** *n.* 20/24. *See n.*
- chambers** *n. pl.* small pieces of ordnance 25/32, *etc.*
- chargeable** *adj.* involving responsibility 7/3.
- chaundrye** *n.* chandlery 19/12.
- cheete** *adj., a cheete love of brede* wheaten loaf of the second quality 71/31.

- cheke** *n.* rebuke 16/7, *etc.*; *n. pl.* reins (of bridle) 52/14.
- chekked** *v. pt.* rebuked 9/6.
- chekker rolle** *n.* check-roll, list of servants 21/18.
- childern** *n. pl.* pages, attendants 19/2.
- choke** *v.* stop the mouth (of a witness) 76/15.
- choyes** *n.* choice 33/29.
- cisis** *n. pl.* sizes 71/30.
- Clarke of the Chekke** *n.* 20/24–5. *See n.*
- Clarke of the Crowne** *n.* 20/23. *See n.*
- Clarke of the Grean clothe** *n.* 20/33. *See n.*
- Clarke of the hamper** *n.* 20/23–4. *See n.*
- clean** *adv.* properly, completely 71/26, *etc.*
- cloos** *n.* close, precinct 146/25.
- cloose stoole** *n.* chamber-pot 171/14.
- closter** *n.* cloister 54/13.
- coblett** *n.* goblet 71/28.
- cofferer** *n.* 18/32. *See n.*
- cognysaunce** *n.* crest, coat of arms 6/1, 128/20.
- colas** *n.* cullis, a strong broth 178/10.
- collect** *n.* collect 23/4.
- colour** *n.* show of reason, pretext 13/12, *etc.*
- colored** *ppl. a.* feigned, pretended 85/17.
- colour (adustum)** *n.* 173/34. *See n.*
- comenwell** *n.* commonweal, commonwealth 35/27. *See n.*
- (in) Commendam** 17/33–4. *See n.*
- commendatory** *n.* holder of a benefice in commendam 97/15.
- commenyng, commonyng** *pr. p.* communing, conversing 55/28, 94/21, *etc.*
- commonalty** *n.* the common people 3/2.
- commyn** *v.* converse 24/7, *etc.*
- commynycacion** *n.* conversation 94/30, *etc.*; *by the way of com-*
- mynycacion* as a matter of conversation 16/15, *etc.*
- commysaryes** *n. pl.* representatives of a bishop in his diocese 17/21.
- compased** *v. pt.* devised, plotted 37/7.
- compasis** *n. pl.* crafty contrivances 11/3.
- compellatory** *adj.* compulsory 78/11.
- complayn (on)** *v.* complain (of, about) 31/6.
- conceyt** *n.*, *in my conceyt* to my mind 105/19.
- condempne** *v.* condemn 81/28.
- condicion** *n.* respect, regard 6/14; *pl.* manners, morals 82/29.
- condygn** *adj.* merited, fitting 47/7, *etc.*
- confeccion** *n.* medicinal preparation 23/16, 168/12.
- confirmable** *adj.* conformable 80/27, 82/25.
- confiscatt** *pp.* confiscated 37/31.
- confuse** *n.* confusion 11/11.
- connyng** *adj.* cunning, learned 19/32, *etc.*
- consistory** *n.* bishop's court for ecclesiastical causes 79/12.
- conspire** *v. trans.* plot, devise 165/9.
- constitute** *pp.* set up, appointed 118/6.
- contentacione** *n.* satisfaction 9/9, 159/27.
- convented** *pp.* summoned 78/10.
- convenyent** *adj.* suitable, fitting 31/17, *etc.*
- conveyed** *pp.* conducted 31/11, *etc.*; managed (?) 136/28.
- coopes** *n. pl.* copes 16/33.
- correspondent** *adj.* accordant, consonant 21/33–4.
- corrysife** *n.* cause of annoyance 123/12.
- costly** *adv.* sumptuously, dearly 50/11.
- costumably** *adv.* customarily 148/33.

- countenance** *n.*, *make a countenance* of make a show of 126/25–6.
counterfeyt *ppl. a.* imitated, portrayed 120/27.
countervaylle *v.* make an equivalent return for 108/18.
covent *n.* convent 174/20, 183/3.
crosherers *n. pl.* attendants who bear an archbishop's cross 20/4, 23/33.
crosseer *n.* crosier 182/31.
crymmosyn *adj.* crimson 21/35, *etc.*
cure *n.* spiritual charge of parishioners 124/18; (medical) cure 120/20.
***custument** *n.* custom 56/25. *See n.*
cytuat *ppl. a.* situated 98/5.
dampne *v.* condemn 90/11.
dampnefied *pp.* injured physically 152/5.
***dasht (owt with)** *v. pt.* 28/3. *See n.*
daynger *n.* power 39/14.
declare (you) *v.* tell (you) 38/13.
deficyll *adj.* difficult 14/7, *etc.*
defray *v.* pay out, expend 18/10.
defuse *adj.* obscure 48/5.
delay *v.* check, restrain 13/33.
delyuerly *adv.* lightly, nimbly 61/22.
delyuerest *adj.* nimblest 40/22.
demaundy *v. pt.* asked 120/14, *etc.*
demayns *n. pl.* demesnes, landed property 18/18, 137/1.
demerites *n. pl.* merits 108/3, *etc.*
departe *v.* part with, bestow 109/25, *etc.*
departure *n.* divergence, withdrawal, parting 75/23 (*see n.*); parting with 118/25.
depeche *n.* dispatch 8/3.
depeche, dispetche *v.* dispatch 9/8, *etc.*; kill 166/19.
dependyng *pr. p.* in suspense, pending 179/10.
deprave *v.* vilify, defame 44/14.
deprese *v.* repress, suppress 179/25.
depryved *pp.* divested, stripped (from) 159/13.
dereveyd *pp.* derived 90/18.
deskes *n. pl.* shelves 69/28.
determynat *ppl. a.* conclusive, final 44/21.
devyse *n.* device, plan 67/22.
devyse *v.* devise; *pp.* **devysied** 73/10, *etc.*
diett *n.* diet 173/12.
diffyaunce *n.* defiance 146/2.
dirige *n.* dirge 183/9.
discharge *v.* unload 133/31; relieve 22/6.
discontentacion *n.* dissatisfaction 80/32.
disdaynously *adv.* disdainfully 140/26.
digestion *n.* digestion 74/31.
dishonestie *n.* unchastity, lewdness 81/7.
dispeched *pp.* 25/4. *See depeche.*
dispend *v.* pay away, expend 106/21.
dispetche *v.*, *see depeche.*
dissent *n.* descent 31/25.
disseyved *v. pt.* deceived 23/4, *etc.*
dissimull, dissembell *v.* dissemble 4/10, *etc.*; *pt.* **dissymbled** 9/12.
distilled *v. pt.* flowed forth 107/16.
diswade *v.* dissuade 179/19.
doon *adj.* dun 128/17.
dowghtyng *pr. p.* doubting, fearing 37/5, *etc.*
drave *v. pt.* drove 83/23.
dromes *n. pl.* drums 25/28, 26/25.
dulce *adv.* sweetly 59/31.
dwn *adj.* dun 127/31.
dyaper *n.* a linnen or cotton fabric 69/16.
dyssayved *pp.* deceived 94/7, *etc.*
effect *v. intr.* have an effect 75/1.
eftsons *adv.* afterwards 28/5.
elect *v.* choose 173/10.
embesell *v.* embezzle 176/17.
emposte *adv.* in haste (French *en poste*) 46/8.
emprynt *v.* impress 171/7.
enbandon *v.* abandon 132/24.

- enbrodered** *pp.* embroidered 44/37, *etc.*
encounterd *v. pt. intr.* met 180/15.
endeavour (me) *v. refl.* exert myself 169/20.
endured *v. pt.* continued 53/12.
endyght *v.* indict 113/15.
enfrynge *v.* break, frustrate 30/12, 34/10.
enheritricis *n. pl.* heiresses 59/16.
ensewe, enswe *v.* follow, imitate 115/30.
ensured *pp.* engaged by a promise of marriage 30/7, 33/7.
enswe *v.* 145/33. *See* **ensewe**.
entaylled *ppl. a.* carved, sculptured 127/32, 128/3.
entendement *n.* understanding 8/8, *etc.*; intention 11/9, *etc.*
entercours *n.* entrance 12/27.
entermeddell *v.* meddle, interfere 25/3.
entertainment *n.* reception, manner of reception 93/30.
entired *pp.* interred, buried 183/11.
enveyed *v. pt.* inveighed 113/12.
eschaunce *n.* exchange 18/15.
escramoche *v.* skirmish 38/9.
estate *n.* person of estate 56/22, *etc.*; *pl.* degrees, ranks in society 26/19, *etc.*
Ester *n.* Easter 132/30.
euery *adj.* every one 67/24, *etc.*
evyll *adj.* evil, ill 167/31, 174/15.
evyn *adv.*, *evyn at hand* close at hand 114/17–18.
ewrie *n.* ewery 19/11.
exclamed *v. trans. pt.* proclaimed loudly 13/19.
excorriacion *n.* excoriation 178/26.
exebicion *n.* exhibition, scholarship 121/32.
expected *pp.* waited for, awaited 44/3.
fact *n.* evil deed, crime 31/35, 33/15.
famely *n.* family, household 104/17.
fantazed *v. pt.* phantasied, fancied 29/20.
fantzy *n.* phantasy, fancy 13/8.
farre fetch *n.* deeply-laid or cunning stratagem 34/24.
fate *adj.*, *ffate* fed overfed, fatly fed 136/10.
faynyng *pr. p.* feigning 182/34.
feacte *n.* feat 61/33.
feare *v. refl.*, *I feare me* I am afraid 166/19.
ferced *ppl. a.* forced, stuffed 124/13.
ferder *adv.* farther 123/19.
ferme *n.*, *in ferme* let at a fixed rent 18/3.
ferrou *n.* farrier 19/21.
filed *ppl. a.* polished, smooth 11/32.
fired *v. intr. pt.* became inflamed, showed anger 104/9.
fletyng *vbl. n.* fleeting, gliding away from (?) 188/2.
foode *n.* feud 145/15.
forme *n.* bench 32/29; kneeling bench, prie-Dieu 46/2.
forse *v.* foresee 139/6, *etc.*
foyell *n.* repulse, defeat 137/2.
foyned *v. pt.* made a thrust, lunged 61/11, 14.
fraccion *n.* breaking of the bread in the Eucharist 54/5.
framed *v. pt.* was contrived 35/16; contrived 178/34.
francye *n.* frenzy 178/26.
franke *adj.* free from restraint 113/30.
frequent *v.* busy oneself with 143/13.
freuctes *n. pl.* fruits 152/28.
frustrate *adj.* fruitless, unavailing 96/4.
fullfyll *v.* satisfy 78/15, *etc.*; *pp.* fulfill, fulfilled filled; fulfilled 74/31, 128/23, 28.
funeralles *n. pl.* funeral 11/5, *etc.*
furnyished *ppl. a.* furnished 24/17.
furnytur *n.* furnishing 9/12, *etc.*; complement of occupants 23/7; accoutrements, furnishings 48/28, *etc.*
fyll *v. pt.* fell 15/12.
fynforce *n.*, *of fynforce* of absolute necessity 15/1, 38/1.
fynne *n.*, *in fynne* to conclude 111/33.
fyves *n. pl.* fives 26/25.

- gagge** *n.* gage 131/5.
galhowsse *n. pl.* gallows 63/21.
garded *pp. a.* furnished with an ornamental border 22/3.
garderobbe *n.* wardrobe 19/13.
garner *n.* granary 19/17.
garter *n., abbreviation for* Garter King of Arms 66/21.
gasyng *pr. p.* gazing 60/35.
gathowsse *n.* gatehouse 5/35.
generall receyvour *n.* receiver-general 82/11. *See n.*
genett *n.* jennet, a Spanish horse 51/30, *etc.*
***gentilman for the monthe** *n.* 19/12. *See n.*
gere *n.* substance 168/10; doings, goings-on 184/23.
gested *pp.* made a jest of 142/27.
gesture *n.* bearing, deportment 29/31, *etc.*
goddes *n., a goddess name in* God's name 129/12.
gospeller *n.* one who reads the Gospel 19/28.
gratitudes *n. pl.* graces, favours 134/33.
gratuytie *n.* favour, kindness 135/2.
grease tyme *n.* 141/1. *See grece season.*
grece season *n.* 92/16. *See n.*
gree *n., in gree with* goodwill or favour 103/21, 140/21.
gresis *n. pl.* steps 54/3.
greve *n.* grief 141/34.
grograyn *n.* a coarse fabric 99/2.
gross *adj.* dense, thick 174/3.
gwerdenythe *v. pr. 3 s.* rewards 129/20.
gyft *n.* power of giving 5/14.
haboundaunce abundance 187/30.
habytt *n.* garb, clothing 23/9.
halewater *n.* holy water 46/20.
halfe hakkes *n. pl.* halfhacks, small-size hackbuts 51/23.
halhalou day *n.* 151/3. *See alhalouday.*
hand *n., in hand with,* endeavouring to persuade, engaged with 84/24;
out of hand at once, immediately 112/32, 139/21.
handfull *n., an handfull brode* the width of a hand (conventionally 'four inches') 51/29.
harbergers *n. pl.* advance messengers 45/14.
hard *v. See here.*
hartilest *adv.* most heartily 133/30.
hault *adj.* haughty 13/33, 35/8; high 150/33.
haunted *v. pt.* frequented 63/9.
hauour *n.* behaviour 48/9, *etc.*
herd *adj.* hard 55/32.
here *v.* hear 12/28, *etc.*; *pt. hard* heard 10/13, *etc.*
hignes *n.* highness 77/19.
hild *v. pt.* held 42/31, 61/9.
historygraffers *n. pl.* historiographers 11/9.
hit *pron.* it 45/13, 185/13.
holand clothe *n.* a linen fabric 99/3.
holden *pp.* held 90/23.
hole *adj.* whole 59/21, *etc.*
holledayes *n. pl.* holy days 133/21.
holy, holly *adv.* wholly 31/34, 113/21, *etc.*
honestie *n.* reputation, credit 114/30.
honorous *adj.* honourable 3/30.
howghes *n. pl.* houghs, hocks 61/24.
hundes *n. pl.* hunters 60/31, 61/15.
ieopard *v. intr. for refl.* risk oneself, venture 137/6.
iesture *n.* 97/31. *See gesture.*
imagyn *v.* imagine, plot, devise 150/8, *etc.*
imagynacion *n.* scheming, devising 11/13, *etc.*
***imedyally** *adv.* immediately 168/17 (possibly an error by Cavendish).
impedyment *n.* hindrance, obstruction 41/30.
imynent *adj.* 171/7. *See n.*
incontynent *adv.* immediately 8/21, *etc.*
inconvenyence *n.* harm, injury 145/5, 28.

- indenture** *n.* list, inventory 99/29.
indewred *v. pt.* endured, lasted 64/4.
indifferencye *n.* impartiality 4/21, *etc.*
indifferent *adj.* unbiased, fair 136/7.
indifferently *adv.* moderately, tolerably 112/11.
induce *v.* introduce, bring forward 36/9.
ingrate *adj.* ungrateful 140/30.
inhabytid *v. pt.* took up one's abode, settled 121/31.
insaciat *adj.* never satisfied 29/3.
instaunce *n.* urgent entreaty 121/2.
instrument *n.* formal legal document 5/20, *etc.*
intelligence *n.* information, news 123/29, *etc.*
invencion *n.* discovery 10/3, *etc.*
invented *pp.* devised, plotted 22/1, *etc.*
iote *n.* jot 47/23.
ioyell *n.* jewel 16/21, *etc.*
ioyntly *adv.* together, at the same time 130/22.
ipocras *n.* cordial drink of spiced wine 71/11.
issue *n.* exit 143/21.
iubely *n.* jubilee 45/28.
iusticers *n. pl.* judges 101/19.
- kankard** *pp. a.* cankered, malignant 114/14.
kayes *n. pl.* keys 152/30, 31.
keuerchefe *n.* covering for the head 59/1.
- laft** *pp.* left 159/12.
lagacion *n.* legation 77/22.
laske *n.* attack of diarrhoea 168/22.
laughed (owte) *pp.* dismissed by laughing 142/27.
launceknuyghtes *n. pl.* lance-knights 46/7. *See n.*
lawyng *pr. p.* laughing 28/2.
layeng *pr. p.* putting forward, alleging 145/34.
laysor *n.* leisure 44/12.
leade *n., under leade* under a seal made of lead 77/8.
- *leanyng stone** *n.* stone forming the inner sill of a window 63/21.
lease *v.* lose 95/14.
legacye *n.* legateship 17/29, *etc.*
legantyn *adj.* legatine 45/31.
lenger *adj.* longer 28/36, *etc.*
lett *n.* let, hindrance 39/6, *etc.*
looke *n.* lock 140/6.
loope *n.* loophole 154/2.
love *n.* loaf 71/31.
love dayes *n. pl.* days appointed for the settling of disputes 144/5.
loves *n. pl., for all the loves* (phrase of strong entreaty) 80/17.
lowd *adj.* lewd, villainous 33/15.
luke *n.* luck 105/20.
lyfe *v.* live 174/5.
lyueres *n. pl.* liveries, provisions 22/18, *etc.*
lyvely *adj.* life-like 120/27; **lyvelyest** most life-like 127/32.
- male** *n.* bag, pack 140/4, 154/32.
malyng, malygne *v.* malign 33/16, 137/16.
manchett brede *n.* the finest wheaten bread 22/20, 71/31.
markes *n. pl.* marks (13s. 4d.) 69/32, *etc.*
mase *n.* mace 23/28.
***maskeresses** *n. pl.* female maskers 73/24.
mastresse *n.* mistress 56/18.
maysters cerimoniarum *n. pl.* masters of ceremonies 17/26.
maystres *n. pl., to worke maystres* to perform wonderful feats 35/11.
meane *n.* mediator, go-between 166/14.
meate *adj.* meet, suitable 21/27, *etc.*
merely *adv.* merrily 26/21, 48/2.
messe *n.* group at a banquet 21/4, 167/17.
messwage *n., in messwage* carrying a communication 110/32, 114/16.
mete *adj.* *See meate.*
metropolytan *n.* head of an ecclesiastical province 84/12.
mewlytor *n.* muleteer 19/22.

- mo, moo** *adj.* more, greater in number 144/16, *etc.*
- mocion** *n.*, *of his mere mocion* of his own accord 10/15.
- molt** *pp.* melted 176/18.
- monycion** *n.* admonition 33/19.
- more** *adj.* greater in degree or extent 29/16, *etc.*
- most** *adj.*, *the most persons of estymacion* the persons of greatest estimation 49/35.
- mottons** *n. pl.* sheep 66/5.
- moysted** *pp.* slaked one's thirst 160/12.
- moytie** *n.* moiety, half 59/18.
- mume chaunce** *n.* dicing game resembling hazard 27/2.
- mummerreys** *n. pl.* mummeries, maskings 25/16.
- muse** *v.* muse, wonder 25/35, *etc.*
- mutuall** *adj.* mutual 147/5.
- myght** *n.* mite 176/17.
- *myhell** *n.* a medal depicting St. Michael 66/12.
- myslyke** *n.* dislike 83/31.
- mystery** *n.* trade guild, 134/22.
- mystrustyng** *pr. p.* suspecting 41/5.
- mysused** *pp.* misconducted 33/3.
- mytigat** *v.* mitigate 118/4.
- naked** *adj.*, *naked bed* 'denoting the removal of ordinary wearing apparel' (*O.E.D.*) 46/27, 86/30.
- naturall** *adj.* hereditary, legitimate 11/10.
- ne** *conj.* nor 22/13, *etc.*
- necessary** *adj.* commodious, convenient 50/19, 51/4 (?)
- necessary** *adv.* necessarily 12/18.
- necessitie** *n.* want, poverty 144/3.
- nekke** *n.* neck 23/12.
- nett** *adj.* neat 127/16.
- newe** *adj.*, *of newe anew* 15/24.
- newelties** *n. pl.* novelties 100/30.
- newter** *adj.* neuter, neutral 49/5.
- nons** *n.*, *for the nons* for the occasion 51/19.
- *norwithstandyng** *conj.* notwithstanding 167/32 (*possibly an error by Cavendish*).
- nother** *conj.* neither 24/12, *etc.*
- noyce** *n.* melodious sound 70/14.
- nyght crowe** *n.* night-crow (a bird of ill omen) 137/19.
- obedyencer** *n.* obedient, liege-man 114/3.
- occasion** *n.* person who brings about something 121/31.
- occupied** *pp.* made use of, used 19/35, *etc.*
- ode** *adj.* odd 133/16.
- often** *adj.* frequent 169/2, 170/6.
- on** *adj.* one 85/28.
- oncouche** *v.* drive animal out of lair 60/31.
- onreuerently** *adv.* irreverently 86/15.
- onsavery** *adj.* unsavoury 123/5.
- onthyfte** *adj.* prodigal, spend-thrift 32/33.
- or** *conj.* ere, before 95/17, *etc.*
- ordynarie** *n.* ordinary 5/18. *See n.*
- ordynaunce** *n.* ordnance, artillery 40/32, *etc.*
- ordynyth** *v. pr. 3 s.* ordains, plans 86/1, *etc.*; *pp.* **ordened** 128/3, *etc.*
- orisons** *n. pl.* prayers 183/10.
- other** *conj.* either 23/9, *etc.*
- ouerthwart** *prep.* upon, across 167/26.
- owght** *v. pt.* owed 28/30.
- owther** *conj.* either 43/29, *etc.*
- pact** *pp.* packed 7/20.
- page** *n.* page 63/9.
- paiauntes** *n. pl.* pageants 50/3, *etc.*
- palle** *n.* pall, pallium 182/32.
- paned** *ppl. a.* made of strips of coloured cloth 25/24.
- parcell** *n.* portion, piece 99/24, *etc.*
- parcell** *adj.*, *parcell gylt* partially gilded 56/11, *etc.*
- parelles** *n. pl.* perils; *vppon ther parelles* at their own risk 145/22, *etc.*
- parentes** *n. pl.* relatives, kinsmen 132/25.
- partycypant** *adj.* participating 39/20.

- parties** *n. pl.* parts 4/4, *etc.*
passenger *n.* passenger-vessel 8/18.
passyng *pr. p.* caring, recking 28/27, *etc.*
pastery *n.* pastry-kitchen 19/3.
pasture *n.* pastor 84/1, *etc.*
paynfull *adj.* diligent, assiduous 10/25.
perceuered *v. pt.* persevered 130/17, *etc.*
perceuraunce *n.* perception, understanding 89/34.
perke *n.* perch 55/26.
personally *adv.* in person 182/20.
pervsed *v. pt.* handled one by one 54/15; read 45/34, *etc.*
pesterd *pp.* clogged, entangled 23/19.
peusaunt *adj.* See **pieusaunt**.
pevysshe *adj.* peevish 30/18.
pieusaunt, peusaunt *adj.* powerful 13/32, 42/33, *etc.*
pild *pp.*, **pild** & **pold** ruined by depredations or extortions 101/10.
pillers berers *n. pl.* 20/4. See *n.*
pirdl *ppl. a.* purled, edged 52/12.
pitched *v. pt.*, **pitched** *a feld* arranged a battle 180/14.
plantyd *v. pt.* established 40/15, *etc.*
plate *n.* confection, sweetmeat 71/4.
pollaxes *n. pl.* pole-axes 24/3.
pollecy *n.* political cunning 13/3, *etc.*
poomen *n. pl.* poor men 133/12 (*perhaps erroneous form*).
port *n.* bearing 29/2, *etc.*
pottecarye *n.* apothecary 20/29, *etc.*
practised *v. pt.* plotted, conspired 34/17.
prease, prece, prese *n.* crowd, throng 23/18, *etc.*
precontracte *n.* pre-existing contract of marriage 30/12.
preferre *v.* advance in status, promote 115/7, *etc.*
premedytate *adj.* premeditated 149/32.
premunire *n.* 113/15, *etc.* See *n.*
prese *n.* See **prease**.
present *n.*, *at that present* at that time 7/24.
preserved *pp.* reserved 164/14.
prest *n.* payment in advance 131/22.
presumcyons *n. pl.* presumptive evidence 86/3, 10.
pretenced *ppl. a.* pretended, false 36/9.
prevencion *n.* prevention 17/24, *etc.* See *n.* to 17/19–20.
preventyd *pp.* forestalled, baulked 159/12.
prevy *adj.* See **privye**.
price *n.* prize 59/35.
privye, prevy, pryvy *adj.* secret, hidden 35/1, *etc.*
probacions *n. pl.* proofs 166/12.
processe *n.* narration, relation 182/9; *in processe* in process of time 34/25.
proface *int.* formula of welcome 70/21 [< obs. *F. prou fasse*, in full *bon prou vous fasse* 'may it do you good'].
prophicier *n.* prophet 128/31.
propone *v.* propose 36/18.
prou *n.* prior 45/26.
prove *n.* proof 33/33.
prove *v.* test 7/34, *etc.*; *prove to* become, grow to 95/24.
provoked *pp.* called upon 75/3; *pt.* urged to action 143/10.
pryvy *adj.* See **privye**.
purseuaunt *n.* pursuivant 9/14.
purveyours *n. pl.* purveyors 19/15.
pyllion *n.* priest's hat 23/12.
pystoler *n.* one who reads the Epistle 19/28.
qualefie *v.* moderate, mitigate 63/2, 146/3.
quyer *n.* choir 45/33.
race *n.* run 52/29.
raced *v. pt.* razed, scratched 151/20.
rathe *adv.* quickly, rapidly 130/34.
rathest *adj.*, *most rathest* most of all 114/8.
raylyng *pr. p.* 151/17. See *n.*
readopcion *n.* re-adoption 119/22.

- recepte** *n.* recipe, prescription 168/19.
- recognysaunce** *n.* recognition, acknowledgement 117/24.
- reconsilment** *n.* reconciliation 141/26.
- reduce** *v.* bring back, restore 58/18.
- reedefied** *v. pt.* rebuilt 5/35.
- regally** *n.* royalty, royal prerogative 181/12.
- regard** *n.* attention 28/22.
- rehersyng** *pr. p.* repeating 170/10, *etc.*
- reiester** *n.* register 147/32.
- reioyce** *v. trans.* feel joy on account of 65/26.
- relented** *pp.* melted 158/35.
- remembred** *pp.* recorded, mentioned 18/27.
- remyssioun** *n.* forgiveness, pardon 9/24, 46/24 *See n.*
- renommed** *ppl. a.* renowned 75/18.
- reparacion** *n.* repair 138/10.
- repayer** *n.* repair, going 38/17.
- repetor** *n.* rehearser, trainer 19/27.
- repleynysshed** *ppl. a.* fully stocked 69/21.
- repugned** *v. pt.* opposed, contended against 114/6.
- requyer** *v.* ask, request 27/4, *etc.*
- respecte** *n.* regard, consideration 130/2.
- respeyght** *n.* respite 92/2.
- resumed** *pp.* taken back 131/25.
- resurreccion** *n.* 133/17. *See n.*
- rethter** *adv.* rather 73/22.
- reuested** *pp.* arrayed in vestments 58/31.
- revelled** *v. pt.* revealed 63/15, *etc.*
- revestrie** *n.* vestry 19/31.
- revoke** *v.* recall, summon back 34/35, 58/15.
- reward** *n.* gratuity 187/16.
- ridyng clarke** *n.* 20/23. *See n.*
- robbyng** *pr. p.* rubbing 54/16.
- rochett** *n.* linen vestment worn by bishops 107/11.
- rome** *n.* room, office, position 6/33, *etc.*
- roodeloft** *n.* rood-loft 54/10.
- roundyng** *pr. p.* whispering 27/23.
- rownds** *n. pl.* round marks (in archery) 183/24.
- rowt** *n.* retinue 162/9, *etc.*
- rumour** *n.* clamour, noise 57/13.
- runnyng cootes** *n. pl.* coats worn by footmen employed as runners 20/27.
- sakbuttes** *n. pl.* sackbuts 54/9.
- saluegard** *n.* safeguard 40/2.
- sarcenet** *n.* a fine silk material 99/2.
- sault** *n.* assault 40/32.
- *scripulositie** *n.* scrupulousness, scruple 83/3.
- scrupulous, scrypolous** *adj.* scrupulous 14/5, 31/24, 83/14, *etc.*
- scylenche** *n.* silence 80/4.
- se** *v.* see, ensure 107/2.
- seased** *pp.* seized 37/31.
- season** *n.* time 34/2, *etc.*
- sedell** *n.* 156/14. *See n.*
- seen** *ppl. a.* versed 122/1, 182/10.
- semblable** *adj.*, with the *semblable* in the same manner 65/22, *etc.*
- semblably** *adv.* seemly, fittingly 49/19.
- sentences** *n. pl.* views 11/29.
- *seruaunce** *n.* service 114/28.
- seruyture** *n.* attendant 30/1.
- sewer** *adj.* sure, certain 76/25, *etc.*
- sewerly** *adv.* surely 80/1.
- sewers** *n. pl.* servers 20/11.
- sewartie** *n.* surety 98/15, 162/33
- sewger** *n.* sugar 22/22.
- sewgerd** *ppl. a.* made sweet, agreeable 13/18.
- shadowe** *v.* shade, obscure 163/7.
- shalme** *n.* 60/6. *See n.*
- shere** *n.* shire 64/22.
- shett** *pp.* shut 161/16, *etc.*
- shewe** *v. pt.* showed 124/4.
- shifte** *n.* shift, expedient 52/7.
- shyfted** *v. pt.* changed 93/12.
- sir** *n.* sir (as term of address) 126/34, 127/24.
- skaldyng howsse** *n.* room in which utensils, *etc.*, were scalded 19/8.
- skantly** *adv.* scarcely, hardly 9/15, *etc.*

- skayn** *n.* skein 87/29.
slaves *n. pl.* slaves (as term of contempt) 62/5.
slipe *n.* leash 60/25.
smell *v.* discern, suspect 41/30.
smoked *v. pt.* fumed, was angry at 34/21.
socours *n.* succour 6/29, 179/32. (O.F. *sucurs*)
soden, sodden *adj.* sudden 97/5, *etc.*
solomplest *adj.* most solemn 46/16.
solomply *adv.* solemnly 38/25, *etc.*
solompne *adj.* solemn 45/30, *etc.*
somme *n.* sum 8/27.
sompter man *n.* sumpterman 19/21.
sompter mewles *n. pl.* pack mules 45/2.
sonpmtuous *adj.* sumptuous 141/23.
sorte *n.* kind, manner; *with lyke sorte* in like manner 24/32; *under this sort* in this manner 26/1.
speres *n. pl.* pensioners, gentlemen-at-arms 48/23.
sprituall *adj.* spiritual 17/23.
spyall *n.* discovery, detection 63/14.
spyalles *n. pl.* spies 150/14.
stafe *n.* support, stay 6/29, *etc.*
staffe torche *n.* tall, thick candle 22/23, *etc.*
stale *v. pt.* stole 63/12.
stallacion *n.* installation 152/20.
stalle *v.* enthrone 66/10, 152/22.
stalled *v. pt.* came to a stand 60/35.
stand *v.* endure, bear 117/31; *stand in termes* take part in controversy 118/31.
standerdes *n. pl.* large chests 122/16.
standing *n.* hunter's station 60/32.
standysshe *n.* standish, inkstand 63/6.
staye *n.* state 34/34.
stere *v.* stir up 37/10; *stere the coles* excite strife 95/35.
sterrechamber *n.* Star Chamber 24/12.
steyers *n. pl.* stairs 86/24.
stomake *n.* stomach 74/30; (as seat of lust) 35/7; temper, disposition 117/28.
stomaked *v. pt.* resented 58/6.
stopped *v. pt.* blocked 153/28.
stoutly *adv.* haughtily, proudly 58/7.
stowt *adj.* proud, haughty 35/8.
strak *v. pt.* struck 57/16.
strayngers *n. pl.* foreigners 25/8, *etc.*
***strayntly** *adv.* straightly, strictly 145/21.
strenthe *n.* strength 40/29.
stroke *n.*, *bare the stroke* achieved a triumph 43/17.
stykke *v.* hesitate, scruple 108/17.
suerly *adv.* surely, steadfastly 116/19.
sumptioser *adj.* more sumptuous 72/14.
supportacion *n.* support, countenance 26/34, *etc.*
surmountythe *v. pr.* 3 *s.* surpasses 116/11; *pt.* **surmounted** prevailed over, overcame 102/28.
surveyour of the dressor *n.* 18/35. *See n.*
suspecte *adj.* suspected 173/3.
symple *adj.* humble 16/22.
symply *adv.* simply 131/6.
symplycyte *n.* plainness of life 148/31.
tablett *n.* flat ornament 121/7.
take *v.*, *take day* put off to another day 113/2.
taken *pp.* accepted by the mind 105/10. *See n.*
tappett *n.* cloth hanging 151/11.
tariaunce *n.* temporary residence 132/27.
tauny *n.* cloth of a tawny colour 44/36.
therfroo *adv.* therefrom 179/19.
thether *the* other 57/24, *etc.*
thrommed *ppl. a.* fringed 60/24.
***thrust** (up) *pp.* trussed up, tied in a bundle 173/26 (*Suffolk dial.* 'thr' for 'tr').

- tippet** *n.* fur scarf 23/13.
tonnes *n. pl.* tuns, large casks 97/20.
tornyng *pr. p.* tourneying 73/2.
tossed *pp.* ?set in motion; ?banded about 78/30.
tother *n.* the other 57/30, *etc.*
towardnes *n.* compliance 65/27.
toyle *n.* net into which game is driven 60/15.
tract *v.* prolong, delay 175/35, *etc.*
trade *n.* course, path 123/20, 127/1.
trapped *ppl. a.* adorned with trappings 23/34.
trapper *n.* covering over a horse 52/11.
travell *n.* travail 6/31, *etc.*; *v.* 10/24, *etc.*
travelous *adj.* laborious 129/1.
travers *n.* compartment enclosed by a screen 54/1, *etc.*
treasorshipe *n.* treasurership 7/2.
tremlyng *pr. p.* trembling 155/15.
trompe *n.* trump, trumpet 3/3.
troppeters *n. pl.* trumpeters 54/10.
truppettes *n. pl.* trumpets 70/8.
trussyng chest *n.* chest used for packing 169/36.
trust *v. pt.* trusted 121/29.
turkkas *n.* turquoise 111/18.
tykkyll *adj.* tickle, uncertain 187/32.
valaunce *n.* valise, cloak bag 45/10.
vampes *n. pl.* bottom part of stockings 148/26.
vanqiessed *pp.* vanquished 115/26.
varyaunce *n.* discord, quarrel 145/1.
vaughtyng *pr. p.* vaulting 70/36.
vayn *n.* vein 12/10.
very *adj.* rightful, legitimate 147/4; *adv.* truly 154/3.
visonamy *n.* physiognomy, face 25/25.
vnreuerent *adj.* irreverent 86/14.
vsage *n.* usage, behaviour 4/4, *etc.*;
 custom 56/31, *etc.*
vse *v.* treat 65/22.
wade *v.* go 90/12, 149/28.
wafery *n.* wafer-kitchen 19/13.
waffetyng *pr. p.* sailing 100/24.
wane *v. pt.* won 27/15, *etc.*
ward *n.* first or outer court 55/5; custody 150/26.
wardens *n. pl.* baking pears 167/18.
ware *v. pt.* wore 130/16.
warfore *conj.* wherefore 150/9.
warne *v.* summon 70/8.
water *v., water* his eyes shed tears 87/21.
way, *v.* weigh 166/34.
wele *n.* weal 6/8, *etc.*
wene *v.* think 186/33.
were *pron.* where 138/7.
wether *conj.* whether 137/32.
wexe *v.* wax, increase 29/1, *etc.*
whan *v. pt.* won 41/22.
where *v.* wear 103/21.
whether *n.* weather 143/31.
whether *adv.* whither 130/11.
wonder *adj.* wondrous 36/16.
wonderly *adv.* in a wonderful manner 24/28; to a wonderful extent 12/25.
wondersly *adv.* wondrously 34/27, 58/13.
wondyd *pp.* wounded 84/6.
world *n., ys it not a world* is it not a marvel 78/14.
wyhigh *adj.* white 60/25.
wyllest *conj.* whilst 135/21, *etc.*
wyry *n.* wherry, light boat 77/30.
wysdomes *n. pl.* title of respect 145/14.
wytsonyde *n.* Whitsuntide 38/23, *etc.*
yerthe *n.* earth 159/30.
yerthely *adj.* earthly 73/13.
yewer *n.* ewer, pitcher 71/26.

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